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CONTENTS.

1. CANON BRIGHT ON THE COUNCIL OF EPHESUS. <i>By the Rev. Luke Rivington</i>	305
2. WHEN PETER CAME TO ROME. <i>By John G. Welch</i>	320
3. HOW TO STOP THE "LEAKAGE:" Our Catholic Industrial Schools. Part II. <i>By a Secular Priest</i>	323
4. THE HUNGARIAN CONFESSION. <i>By the Rev. Sydney F. Smith</i>	333
5. A GLIMPSE OF CHARITABLE ROME. <i>By V. M. Crawford</i>	347
6. THE MODERN GOTH	358
(i.) A Reply to "Modernus." <i>By an Ancient Roman.</i>	
(ii.) Unrubrical Altars.	
7. THE STATUTES OF LIMITATIONS AS THEY AFFECT PROPERTY. <i>By William C. Maude</i>	388
8. THE DUTCH CLAIMS IN GUIANA. <i>By the Rev. Herbert Thurston</i>	396
9. THE CONIROSTRALS AND NEAR NEIGHBOURS. <i>By C. Noel Welman</i>	416
10. A MODERN ACHATES. <i>By T. S. Sharwood</i>	422
Chapters XXXII.—XXXV.	
REVIEWS	448
1. The End of Religious Controversy. <i>By Bishop Milner.</i> A new edition by the Rev. Luke Rivington.	
2. Christ in Type and Prophecy. <i>By the Rev. A. J. Maas, S.J.</i> Vol. ii.	
3. Catholic Standard Library. The Great Commentary of Cornelius à Lapide. 1 Corinthians. Translated and Edited by W. F. Cobb, D.D.	
LITERARY RECORD	453
I.—Books and Pamphlets.	
II.—Magazines.	

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Canon Bright on the Council of Ephesus.

IN his recent reply to *The Primitive Church and the See of Peter*,¹ Canon Bright professes to be very careful about keeping the true point at issue clearly before his readers. He rightly urges that proof of the Papal position must (to be valid) contain evidence for that position *as defined by the Vatican Council*.² And yet on the same page he attributes to "Roman policy" the retention (as he supposes) for twenty years, of an "historical introduction" to the decree concerning Papal Infallibility, which is in reality an integral portion of the decree itself, as published at the Council. But whether characteristic of Roman policy or not, it was Canon Bright's bounden duty to take it into account as, at any rate, an authoritative explanation. It concerned the consultative functions of the Episcopate, and no account of the Vatican Decree could be complete which slurred it over. Two years ago he made the same mistake in his *Waymarks in Church History*;³ there the supposed later publication of this statement as to the consultative function of the Episcopate was remarked upon as "strange;" now, it is "very characteristic of Roman policy."

We mention this, because an important point in Canon Bright's treatment of the early Councils for the last quarter of a century hinges upon this very function of the Episcopate. The Pope is perpetually represented by him as being according to Roman teaching an ecclesiastical despot, and any part played by the Episcopate in ancient history, except that of simply registering the Papal decisions, is adduced as contradicting the teaching of the Vatican Council. It is, indeed, not only the Vatican Decree of which Canon Bright has exhibited a really culpable ignorance—culpable in one who writes with such unsparing vehemence—but he has betrayed a thorough lack of

¹ By the Rev. Luke Rivington, M.A. Longmans, 1894.

² *The Roman See*, p. 5.

³ P. 209.

acquaintance with our theological treatises on the subject. For from the day of the publication of the Vatican Decree, the greatest stress has been laid on this very portion of the decree which Canon Bright did not recognize as such, but looked upon as a later addition to it. And were it not for this want of familiarity with our teaching on the subject, Canon Bright could not, as an honest man, have advanced some of the arguments which he has repeated during the last quarter of a century.

The truth stated in the historical introduction to the decree is that "the Roman Pontiffs, as the state of things and times has made advisable, at one time calling Ecumenical Councils or finding out the opinion of the Church dispersed throughout the world, at another by means of particular synods, at another using other means of assistance which Divine Providence supplied, have defined those things to be held which by God's aid they knew to be in agreement with Sacred Scripture and Apostolic traditions."

Now Canon Bright appears to consider that any community of action between the Pope and the Bishops implies equality of rank, and is fatal to Papal Supremacy. For some years he has been in the habit of translating the Latin words *in commune* by the English word "equally."¹ And since, in addressing the Council of Ephesus, Pope St. Celestine spoke of the teaching office as having "descended to all Bishops *in commune*," Canon Bright argued that this Pope at any rate could not have believed in Papal Supremacy. Dr. Pusey produced this statement of Celestine's as one of those irreconcilable contradictions which ought to be considered fatal to Papal Infallibility.

It was therefore pointed out in *The Primitive Church and the See of Peter*, that "in common" does not involve "equality," e.g., in the Anglican Book of *Common Prayer*, priest and people are supposed to pray "in common," but are not therefore considered to be officially *equal*.² At last Canon Bright has practically withdrawn his unscholarly translation of the words *in commune*; but he now asks in reply, "Where does he [Celestine] distinguish his own position from theirs, as the

¹ E.g., *Roman Claims tested by Antiquity*, 1877, p. 11, note. Fleury, to whom both Dr. Pusey and Dr. Bright refer, seems to be responsible for this mistranslation. Duchesne says, in his *Origines Chrétiennes*, that it is easy "*karter*" Tillemont's "*preoccupations doctrinales*." The same may be said of Fleury. But, however easy, both Dr. Pusey and Dr. Bright seem to have been the victims of the result of these writers' *preoccupations doctrinales*.

² *The Primitive Church*, p. 482.

'priest's' is distinguished from the 'people's' in 'common prayer'?"¹ But this is not the point. The assumption on the part of Dr. Pusey and Canon Bright was that the equality of the Pope and Bishops was involved in Celestine's use of the words *in commune*. It is no reply to ask, Where does Celestine say they are not equal? The question asked of Dr. Bright was, Where does he say they are? Is it, *as you have asserted*, in using the words *in commune*, which you have boldly mistranslated "equally"?

But we propose to come to still closer quarters with Canon Bright on the subject of the Council of Ephesus. He says that "three questions arise as to the relation of the Council of Ephesus to the Roman See. (1) What was the nature of the authority exercised by Celestine I. when he commissioned Cyril to act for him in the case of Nestorius? (2) When the Council was summoned, did this commission 'devolve' (as Mr. Rivington maintains) upon it? (3) When it met, did it (as Mr. Rivington holds) act as Celestine's instrument and minister?"² The latter question, which suggests more than is held by "Mr. Rivington," has been fully dealt with in our contemporary, the *Dublin Review*, April, 1895, art. vii. It is only with the two first that we shall concern ourselves here; and we shall ask our readers to follow us in a somewhat minute examination of Canon Bright's presentment of the history, and we shall leave the facts to speak for themselves as to how far Canon Bright is entitled to pose as scholar and logician to the extent implied in the very offensive passages of his book in which he denounces what he is pleased to consider the general untruthfulness of Catholic, or (as he would call them) Roman, controversialists.³

1. *The authority exercised by Pope St. Celestine.*—St. Cyril, so soon as he found that Nestorius was spreading his heretical teaching in regions under his own (St. Cyril's) jurisdiction, wrote to Celestine asking him to formulate the decision which seemed to him right concerning the teaching of Nestorius. He said that he wrote "of necessity," in consequence of the "ancient customs of the Churches"—not of the Church of Alexandria simply, but of the Churches in general.⁴ So far, he says, he had written to no Bishops—to none of "our fellow-ministers." Canon Bright sees in this latter expression an assertion of equality between

¹ P. 162.

² *Roman See*, p. 144.

³ Pp. 210—213.

⁴ Mansi, iv. 1012.

St. Cyril and the Pope, showing "that in this connection he (Cyril) regards the Bishop of Rome as a *primus inter pares*, and having resolved to warn (*sic*) the Episcopate at large, begins naturally with him."¹

Now, Canon Bright has strongly inveighed against the use of the word *primacy* in this controversy, and has actually denounced Bishop Hefele for using such an "ambiguous" term, as he deems it.² Why, then, does he use it here? And is it possible that Canon Bright has not yet grasped the distinction between order and jurisdiction? All Bishops are, according to Vatican teaching, equal in regard to the *sacerdotium* (in their case the *summum sacerdotium*), but they are very far from being equal in regard to jurisdiction. St. Cyril, when he speaks of the Pope and the Bishop as fellows, asserts the equality of their episcopal character, by virtue of which every Bishop, the Pope included, acts in delivering the deposit of faith; and he appeals to the jurisdictional superiority of the Bishop of Rome when he writes to Celestine "as a matter of necessity," not to "warn" him, as Canon Bright says, but to ask him to "decide what is right" (*τυπῶσαι τὸ δοκοῦν*)—"whether we ought to communicate with him at all," as St. Cyril adds. This was a decision which he says he considered Celestine bound to give, and, moreover, to communicate to "all the Bishops of the East."³ He was not proposing to write to these latter until he had the Pope's direction concerning Nestorius. This, then, is what St. Cyril meant by the Primacy of the Pope. And this is certainly not what Canon Bright understands by *primus inter pares*.

But Canon Bright demurs to this being called "an application for a final judicial decision, which the Pope alone could give." He is here combating a quotation from Bossuet, though he prefers, for reasons best known to himself, to keep Bossuet's name in the background. Bossuet says: "Le mot Grec signifie déclarer juridiquement. *Τύπος* c'est une règle, c'est une sentence, et *τυπῶσαι τὸ δοκοῦν* c'est déclarer juridiquement son sentiment. Le Pape seul le pouvait faire; Cyrille ni aucun patriarche n'avaient le pouvoir de déposer Nestorius, qui ne leur était soumis; le Pape seul avait fait, et personne n'y trouve à redire parceque son autorité s'étendait sur tous."⁴ But Canon Bright asserts dogmatically that *τυπῶσαι τὸ δοκοῦν*, and the substantive

¹ P. 145.

² Pp. 21, 80.

³ Mansi, iv. 1015.

⁴ *Remarques sur l'histoire des Conciles d'Ephèse et de Chalcedoine, de M. Dupin; Œuvres de Bossuet*, t. 30, p. 526. Edit. Versailles, 1817.

τύπος do not mean this, and he gives two reasons: (1) One is, that the Latin translates, "quid hic sentias præscribere." We can only regret that Canon Bright does not translate the Latin, for it would be hard to get anything out of it short of what Bossuet deduces from the Greek. The translation which Canon Bright gives of the Greek word is "direction," by which he understands, not a direction given by a superior authority, but such only as might be given by a *primus inter pares*—the positive meaning of which we cannot extract from Canon Bright's writings, but which is anyhow meant to exclude any superior authority. Canon Bright is demonstrably wrong in his translation. The word in the language of the Councils, in its substantive and verbal forms alike, is constantly used for *authoritative* direction or decision. Cyril uses it of the date fixed for the Council by the Emperors, than which nothing could be more authoritative.¹ It occurs in the Greek translation of Celestine's letter to the clergy and people of Constantinople, where it is identified with the term ἀπόφασις, which Canon Bright himself translates, "sentence."² Again, it is connected with κρίσις in the Greek of Celestine's letter to Nestorius.³ The verb is used by the Emperor Theodosius of the things to be decided by the Synod;⁴ the Emperor Marcian uses the verb of the things finally decided by the Synod of Chalcedon;⁵ and we even have the word used of the direction of "all the Churches,"⁶ which, even in Canon Bright's judgment, must be considered a final decision. And we may remember how the word was used in the struggle between Rome and the Monophysites, the *Typus* being the heretical formulary insisted upon by Imperial authority, and resisted by Rome. On the whole, there can be no doubt that Canon Bright is wrong, and that Bossuet is correct, if we look to the ecclesiastical usage of the term, in describing it as a judicial sentence, and in this case, owing to the terms in which St. Cyril's request was couched, the sentence of the very highest authority.

It is with regret that we now point to a way of dealing with this word which we had a right to expect would not be found in Canon Bright's work, considering the very strong language in which he denounces what he is pleased to consider "Roman untruthfulness." In his article in the *Church Quarterly*, Canon

¹ Mansi, iv. 1229.

² *Ibid.* 1045. Cf. also Celestine's letter to Nestorius, 1035.

³ *Ibid.* 1036. ⁴ *Ibid.* 1120. ⁵ Leonis, Ep. cv. *Ibid.* 1297.

Bright had quoted certain words of Bishop Firmus in the Council. He admitted that the Bishop said that the "Apostolical See had previously given a direction, and that they had followed and carried it out." Considering that this is a Bishop's summary of the whole matter accepted by the Council, viz., that the Pope had given a direction (τύπος), and the Council in what they had done in deposing Nestorius had followed *that*, the evidence of this speech would to most men amount to little short of demonstration that the direction (τύπος) of the Pope was considered an authoritative decision. But in point of fact, Canon Bright omitted a word joined on to "direction," a word which he himself elsewhere, *when used of the Synod*, understands as a "sentence" (ψήφον).¹ This was pointed out in a pamphlet by the present writer, which Canon Bright saw, and professed to answer. But in his recension of the *Church Quarterly* article—that is to say, in the book with which we are now dealing, he still *retains the misquotation in the text—i.e.*, he leaves out the word for "sentence," which, of course, makes against his contention, and he adds in small print, *in a note*, that "the word ψήφον, sentence, precedes"! We leave it to our readers to judge how far this can be called straightforward dealing with the text of Bishop Firmus' speech.

We will just pause here for a moment to notice a sample of Canon Bright's logic. If the Council passed the sentence originally directed by Celestine, and did it in canonical fashion, it would be clearly a canonical and an apostolical judgment, on the "Roman" theory. But Canon Bright thinks that by stating this fact the Bishops derogate from the authority of the Pope.² This curious reasoning proceeds from Canon Bright's misapprehension as to the Vatican Decree noticed above. He fancies that community of action involves equality of rank. He imagines that Rome has somewhere taught that the action of the Apostolic See exhausts the Apostolic action of the Church. He even says of Celestine, "He never claims any sole Apostolic authority."³ Of course he does not; neither does Leo XIII., nor any Pope, nor does the Vatican Decree claim it for any one. But Canon Bright, possessed of this false conception of Vatican teaching as to the relation between the Pope and the rest of the Bishops, thinks that if any Bishop claims or is said to take part in the Apostolic action of the

¹ Mansi, iv. 1288; *Roman See*, p. 166.

² *The Roman See*, p. 163. ³ P. 151.

Church, he is denying the superior and *indispensable* authority of the Pope.¹

But (2) Canon Bright gives a further reason for his opposition to Bossuet, which is refuted by a glance at the original. He says that his own rendering of Cyril's meaning, *i.e.*, that he only asked the Pope to give a "direction" which might or might not be obeyed, "is supported by what follows, for Cyril tells Celestine that he ought to make known his mind (σκόπον) to the Macedonian and the Oriental Bishops." To "make known his mind" seems to Canon Bright to exclude the idea of a final judicial decision—on what grounds we do not know. But it happens that in this instance we have this very word σκόπον used a few pages further on of the Emperor's commands, which Count Candidian complained had not been obeyed.² We may therefore conclude with Bossuet, as against Canon Bright, that St. Cyril looked to the Pope to give a judicial sentence, such as he alone could give, on the doctrines taught by the Archbishop of Constantinople, and on the penalty to be meted out to him.

And Celestine, in his reply, gives a judicial sentence and delegates its execution to Cyril. "Wherefore, assuming to you the authority of our See and acting in our stead and place with delegated authority (ἐξουσία), you shall execute a sentence of this sort," &c. We will consider the sentence presently. Here we are dealing with the authority under which Cyril was to act. "Assuming the authority of our See . . . in our stead and place," as is the Latin, which is here, of course, the original; or in the Greek, "the authority of our See being joined to you." Canon Bright sets aside the Latin, and persists in his previous mistranslation, "joining the authority of our See to your own." It is not "your own," but "you"—the possessive pronoun might imply that it was to be the combination of two equally authoritative sees, instead of the combination of the Apostolic See and Cyril. The position of his see does not come into consideration. We repeat that Canon Bright has no right to persist in his translation of σοί by "your own." But what decides against Canon Bright is the word ἐξουσία, which, as

¹ Another good instance of Canon Bright's logic is to be found on p. 5, note. He says, "The Council deposed the Bishop of Constantinople; it could not, therefore, have recognized 'Apostolic authority' as having already done so." The whole question is whether the Council considered itself to be carrying out Celestine's sentence.

² Mansi, iv. p. 1233.

every scholar knows, indicates *delegated* authority. Cyril, then, was to act with authority, and the authority was not that of his own see, but was delegated, being that of the Apostolic See. He was to act in "the stead and place" of Celestine. And the sentence as delivered to Nestorius also shows that Cyril was considered to act simply as a delegate, not as combining the authority of two sees in equal porportion. For Celestine tells Nestorius that he has commissioned Cyril, "as filling our place, to manage this affair so that what has been decreed (*ὡρισμένον*. Lat. *statutum*) by us may be made manifest."¹ Indeed, Cyril, as occupant of the see of Alexandria, had no authority to depose Nestorius. How, then, was he to do it? Celestine says, "by using our place with delegated authority."²

Canon Bright, however, endeavours to diminish the force of all this very Papal language on the part of Celestine, and this Papal conception of Celestine's office on the part of Cyril, by drawing attention to the fact that Celestine accounted Cyril's arguments in favour of the truth "a great triumph for his belief." He conceives that this is not the language of a Pope who assumes infallibility.³ Again, *ignoratio elenchi*. Infallibility, as taught by the Vatican Decree, does not postulate the self-sufficiency (*αὐταρκεῖα*) of the Papal mind. Again, he thinks that because Celestine "lays stress on the complete doctrinal accord between Cyril and himself," he cannot believe in his own infallibility. Hopeless misconstruction. It is not to be supposed that the Pope is for ever thinking of his infallibility, and cannot rejoice as Pope in the controversial powers and orthodoxy of a fellow-Bishop.

Now follows a glaring instance of the way in which a text can be twisted into the desired shape. St. Cyril wrote to John of Antioch, to persuade him to obey the Roman decree. He says that "the holy Synod of the Romans has given clear decisions (or, if Canon Bright prefers the term, directions), and moreover also has written [them] to your Reverence, which [directions or decisions] it is necessary for those to obey who cling to communion with the whole West."⁴ Now the decisions (*τετύπωκε*) of the Synod were obviously the judgment given by Celestine, when Cyril asked him (*τυπῶσαι τὸ δοκοῦν*) to decide what seemed right. But it would not suit Canon Bright's thesis

¹ Mansi, iv. 1035.

² τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τοῦ τόπου διαδοχῇ ἐπ' ἐξουσίᾳ χρησάμενος. (Mansi, iv. 1020.)

³ P. 146.

⁴ Mansi, iv. 1052.

to suppose that Cyril was asking the Patriarch of Antioch to obey the decisions of the Pope. How therefore does he settle matters with this request to John of Antioch on the part of Cyril? First he turns the plural into the singular: "A clear direction has been given." Then, having left out the mention of the letters, which emphasizes the fact that Cyril is talking about the plain directions, he transfers the word "Romans" to the end of the first limb of the sentence, bringing it close up to the relative pronoun, so that this pronoun may seem to refer to the word "Romans." He has thus completely altered the run of the sentence, which in the original has "the things" decided in the plural, and this plural stands nearest to the relative pronoun, to which that pronoun therefore in good grammar must be referred. By this dexterous readjustment of the text, he is able to translate the relative pronoun (which we have translated above "which," as referring to the decisions and letters), by the English "whom." So that now it looks as if it were not the Papal judgment, but merely the Bishops in Rome. But since it would still be awkward to make it necessary for Eastern Bishops to "obey" the Romans, the word for "obey" is translated "follow," an equivalent which will not be found in Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon. We give the two renderings side by side, italicizing one or two words.

Literal from the Greek.

The holy Synod of Romans has decided *clear things* and also written [them] to your Reverence, *which* it is necessary that those should obey who cling to communion with the whole West.

Canon Bright.

A *clear* direction has been given by the holy Synod of the *Romans*, *whom* it is necessary for those to follow who cling to communion with the whole West.

The Latin is clear and dead against Canon Bright, viz., *Horum decreto . . . parendum est*. The gist of Cyril's remark is that Celestine's judgment was synodical, and, as we should now put it, *ex cathedrâ*, and that since the West obeyed, so should the East. Otherwise (so Cyril argues) we in the East should be taking a different view from them, and so be separated from them—they considering the judgment one which they were bound to obey, we looking on it as a direction which does not impose the necessity of obedience. He was not (as Canon Bright puts it) "sinking the obligation of obeying Christ's Vicar in the expediency of keeping on good terms with the West."

His argument was an appeal to the numbers who were expressing their agreement with the Roman Synod, which he considered it necessary to obey under pain of sin; and it was natural to lay stress on the fact that the judgment was a Synodical one—in fact, to mention the court rather than the judge, the instrument rather than the *causa efficiens*—since this emphasized the solemn character of the judgment. All this Canon Bright has simply misrepresented. On one point he has indeed given in, though without any acknowledgment. In the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*¹ he had made the Pope say that Nestorius would be excluded from communion with the *Churches of Rome and Alexandria* if he did not obey. He repeated this glaring misrepresentation in his later book.² What the Pope did say was that Nestorius would be *ipso facto* cut off from communion *with the Universal Church*. In fact, he assumed supremacy over the whole Church.

John of Antioch now wrote to Nestorius, and recommended him to obey Celestine. Canon Bright thinks that his letter contains "not a word which can be interpreted in the Papalist sense;" on which it is enough to remark that John had seen Celestine's letter excommunicating Nestorius *from the communion of the whole Church* unless he retracted within ten days. And having read this, he urged Nestorius to obey, *although*, as he said, *the time allowed was short*. It would be hard to know how to provide Canon Bright with words "which can be interpreted in the Papalist sense" if these cannot, or, indeed what other interpretation could be put on them with any show of reason.

Bossuet, in his censure of the Abbé Dupin's history (of which much was afterwards withdrawn), thus sums up the situation: "C'est Celestin qui prononce, c'est Cyrille qui execute, et il execute *avec puissance*, parce qu'il agit *par l'autorité* du siege de Rome. Ce qu'il ecrit à Nestorius n'est pas moins fort, puis qu'il donne son approbation à la foi de saint Cyrille, et, en consequence, il ordonne à Nestorius de se conformer a ce 'qu'il lui verra enseigner,' sous peine de deposition. L'autre circonstance est que tous les évêques de l'Eglise Grecque etaient disposés à obeir. Une si grande puissance exercée dans l'Eglise grecque, et encore contre un patriarche de Constantinople, donne sans doute une grande idée de l'autorité du Pape. Il se montrait le supérieur de tous les patriarches; il déposait

¹ Art. "Cyril," p. 766.

² *Waymarks*, p. 221.

celui de Constantinople ; celui d'Alexandrie tenait à honneur d'exécuter la sentence ; celui d'Antioche, quelque ami qu'il fut de Nestorius, ne songeait pas seulement à y résister ; Juvenal patriarche de Jérusalem, était dans le même sentiment."¹

2. *The Pope's commission to St. Cyril.*—The second question raised by Canon Bright, is whether the commission given by Celestine to Cyril to deal with Nestorius, "devolved" upon the Council of Ephesus. His object is to show that the Council acted on its *independent* authority in deposing Nestorius.

Now, Cyril was commissioned to execute the sentence pronounced by the Pope, *and* to settle the affairs of Constantinople by providing a new Bishop. He was to act, "assuming the authority of our See and acting in our stead and place with delegated authority," as Celestine put the matter. The sentence on Nestorius was to be considered as taking effect, if he did not within ten days of receiving notice of it, retract his heresy in writing. We must here distinguish between the substance of the sentence and that which was an accident of it. The essence consisted in the deposition of the heresiarch ; an accidental feature of it was his excommunication within a certain time. That Celestine considered that his sentence might thus be separated into substance and accident, is certain ; for, after the convocation of the Council he told Cyril, that if, after it had assembled, Nestorius still remained impenitent, "he would reap the fruit of his own act, *the previous decisions remaining in force.*"² That is to say, if, now that the ten days had past and the Council had given him another chance, he still remained impenitent, his condemnation would be due to the original sentence passed upon him in the previous August by Celestine himself. It seems that as soon as Cyril received his summons to the Council at Ephesus, he had written to the Pope to know how he should now act in regard to Nestorius. Should he regard him as a Bishop, considering that he was teaching what had been declared to be heresy, and the ten days had expired ?

It is clear from this that Cyril did consider himself to be still acting under commission from the Pope after the convocation of the Council. And it is also clear that he was right in his supposition. For the Pope (after expressing his satisfaction that the Emperor had taken the matter up) says that he leaves

¹ *Remarques sur l'histoire des Conciles, &c., t. 30, Edit. Versailles, p. 524.*

² Mansi, iv. 1292.

the matter to Cyril and the Council.¹ "It belongs to your Holiness, with the venerable Council of the brethren, to put down the disturbances that have arisen in the Church, and that we should learn that the matter has been completed (God helping) by the desired correction." Canon Bright says that "Mr. Rivington" says this, "as though he had read it in black and white." It is to be found in black and white in Mansi, iv. 1292; but it seems to have escaped Canon Bright's notice, a misfortune which renders his whole argument on this point valueless. He thinks that because Nestorius was to be considered excommunicated if he did not retract within ten days, Cyril's commission ceased at the end of that interval. But in view of the letter just quoted, it is impossible to maintain this. Moreover, another matter had been entrusted to Cyril: he had been commissioned to provide for the Church of Constantinople. The commission, therefore, was not fulfilled at the end of ten days. Its complexion indeed was altered by the Imperial convocation of a Council, but it clearly remained unfulfilled. Canon Bright says that "a commission cannot be at once fulfilled and unfulfilled."² But it may be fulfilled in respect of one portion of its contents and unfulfilled in respect of another. He adds: "If it is fulfilled as far as is possible, it is necessarily 'exhausted.'" But that is just the point at issue—was it fulfilled "as far as possible"? Cyril thought not, and accordingly he wrote to Celestine for instructions how he was to act towards Nestorius under the circumstances that had newly arisen. He assumes that he *was* to act, and with Celestine's authority.

Canon Bright has further missed the situation owing to a mistake as to the dates. The order of events was as follows: The Emperor wrote an angry letter to Cyril, accusing him of interfering where he had no rights, *i.e.*, in Constantinople, especially with the Empress and the Empress' sister, to whom Cyril had written magnificent letters on the orthodox doctrine of the Incarnation. He told Cyril that such matters should be settled by the whole Episcopate, or (as the phrase probably means) by all the Metropolitans (those who preside everywhere), and not by Cyril alone. And the words quoted by Canon Bright from the Emperor's letter, *viz.*, that "no new

¹ Canon Bright imagines (but it is *pure imagination*) that the aged Pontiff is insincere whenever he expresses satisfaction of this kind.

P. 152.

steps should in the interim be taken by any individuals" (literally, "by any one privately"), refer to the strife between Nestorius and Cyril over the latter's teaching, as it had been falsely represented to the Emperor by Nestorius. They have no reference to the Papal judgment. That had not yet come on to the scene. The summons for the Council was issued by the Emperor on November 19th. At the end of October, Cyril had held his Synod at Alexandria, and in the beginning of November, probably November 3rd, he wrote his letter to Nestorius, to be delivered to him by four Bishops—one more than the usual number for serving a notice on an Archbishop, owing probably to the sentence being that of the Bishop of Rome. These four Bishops arrived in Constantinople after the Imperial summons for the Council had been issued, but nevertheless on November 30th, in the centre of disturbance, they served the notice of deposition and excommunication on the Archbishop of the Imperial city, together with the Papal letter announcing the terms on which he could be released, and also the twelve anathematisms added by St. Cyril and his Alexandrian Synod. Thus, in less than a fortnight from the Imperial summons to a Council, the whole face of things was changed by the appearance of Cyril's Legates in Constantinople, bearing with them the Papal sentence of deposition. The historical situation was not, as Canon Bright describes it, that "the Emperor's act cut straight across the lines of their [Celestine's and Cyril's] policy."¹ The appearance of the Papal sentence in Constantinople equally cut across the Emperor's policy. Hitherto, that sentence having been probably unknown to the Emperor, certainly not having been formally served, his Imperial Majesty had devised the idea of a Council to consider Cyril's heterodoxy, as he deemed it, and to decide in favour of Nestorius; now the situation had undergone a fundamental change. Nestorius was condemned. On any but the Papal hypothesis, there must have been some protest from the Emperor, and at least some from the orthodox Bishops. But, as a matter of fact, each side prepared for the Council, and when Nestorius appeared at Ephesus, it was only to discover that no church was open to him for the Liturgy of Pentecost—the Papal sentence was already accepted. The question would now be asked if the Papal sentence had been canonically served, and the office of the Bishops would be brought into play to show before the world that the few words of the sentence could, if necessary, be proved

¹ P. 153.

to be in accordance with the doctrine of the Fathers and the present teaching of the assembled Episcopate.

Did, then, the Council hold itself to be under any *obligation* to enforce the Papal sentence of deposition? Did it act as though the commission given by Pope Celestine to Cyril to execute the sentence of deposition on Nestorius had devolved upon itself? It did say distinctly, to use the words of its spokesman, that "the Apostolic throne had previously given a sentence and direction (or decision), and that they had carried it out by pronouncing against Nestorius a canonical and Apostolical judgment."¹ It would be difficult to assert in plainer terms that they were acting under orders. The words, "Apostolic judgment," clearly refer to the judgment of "the Apostolic throne"—their own was Apostolic as being in accord with that. The "canonicity" of the judgment consisted in its having been served properly on Nestorius, and in their having given him due notice and summons. In reference to this they had several times spoken of the canons.

But once more. The Council most distinctly affirms that it was under an obligation to conform its judgment to that of the Holy Father. It asserts that it is carrying out the impulse given by him, and carrying it out as a matter of necessity. In delivering its sentence, it says that in so doing its members were "necessarily compelled," or (if Canon Bright so prefers to translate it)² "necessarily impelled both by the Canons and by the letter of our most holy Father and fellow-minister, Celestine." To this plain, precise, and emphatic description of their relation to their "holy Father," what has Canon Bright to say? That "the Canons and Celestine's letter to Nestorius cannot here be treated as co-ordinate."³ But that is not the question. For the Canons relate to their own mode of procedure in summoning Nestorius three times—no one can read the Acts of the Council without seeing this—and the letter of Celestine contained the norm by which they were "necessarily impelled" to act. But Canon Bright gives a reason: "For the Council had *not* rendered literal obedience to that letter." But again the question is misplaced. The question is whether they had rendered *substantial* obedience to the letter, and this they say that they have, as we have seen in Bishop Firmus' speech:

¹ Mansi, iv. 1290.

² Canon Bright will not deny that *ἐπειχθέντες* is exactly represented by "impelled;" so that the stronger form *κατεπειχθέντες* needs a stronger English equivalent, and that is exactly "compelled." The Latin is *coacti*—"compelled."

³ P. 159.

"The Apostolic See has given a sentence and direction, and we have executed it." Celestine said to Cyril: "You shall execute a sentence of this sort." The Council say that they have done this, using the very same word for "execute" as in the Greek version of the Papal letter. And Celestine, as we have seen, had contemplated an investigation by the Council, as not at variance with his own sentence being the authoritative norm.¹ Canon Bright is fond of quoting Bossuet, or rather the *Defensio Cleri Gallicani*. Here is Bossuet's description of matters, when dealing, not politically, as in the *Defensio*, but simply from an historical point of view, and with his own pen and mind, with the history of this Council: "Autre chose est de prononcer une sentence conforme à la lettre du Pape, autre chose d'être contraint par la lettre même aussi que par les Canons, à la prononcer. L'expression du Concile reconnaît dans la lettre du Pape la force d'une sentence juridique, qu'on ne pouvait pas ne point confirmer, parce qu'elle était juste dans son fond et valable dans sa forme comme étant émanée d'une puissance légitime. Ce n'est pas aussi une chose peu importante que dans une sentence juridique le concile ait donné au Pape le nom de *Père*."²

Shall we notice one more argument advanced by Canon Bright? He demurs to the sentence of the Council being interpreted literally, because they say that they passed it with tears.³ As the tears were, in Canon Bright's judgment, a figure of speech, so may their assertion of the necessity under which they acted. Such is the argument. But does Canon Bright think the two matters *in pari materia*? And is he sure that, had one been present, one might not have been able to say that at the solemn moment of the deposition of the Archbishop of Constantinople, there was not a dry eye in the whole assembly?

Canon Bright has used an expression of his opponent, which we will only mention—"undisguised special pleading." Perhaps its climax is reached in his dealing with this word "necessarily." In regard to the meaning of this word, compare St. Paul's words in regard to preaching the Gospel: "A necessity is laid upon me."⁴

LUKE RIVINGTON.

¹ Mansi, iv. 1292.

² *Remarques sur l'histoire des Conciles . . . de M. Dupin*. Edit. Versailles, t. 30, p. 524.

³ P. 159.

⁴ 1 Cor. ix. 16.

When Peter came to Rome.

CÆSAR, the World salutes thee ;
The World is all thine own ;
Its mistress is thy handmaiden,
Its summit is thy throne :
Yet tremble thou, whom, trembling,
Three continents obey ;
A larger rule, a longer line,
A greater dignity than thine,
Begin in Rome to-day.

To the Imperial City,
Along the Appian Road,
Out of the East, a Stranger comes,
Who bears a mystic load ;
He treads the thronging pavement,
Unnoticed and unknown ;
But though the crowd may look in vain
To see the wonder of his train,
He does not walk alone.

No cavalcade attends him,
But viewless, in the air,
A many-wingèd retinue
Is round about him there :
No token of his power
May any man behold ;
But in his hand the angels see
A golden and an iron Key
Of potency untold.

To him those Keys were given,
The gift of One who died
Lord of the kingdoms of the earth,
And grander realms beside ;
A Portal they can open
Where thou one day must knock ;
And thou shalt know their bearer then,
Shepherd and Fisherman of Men,
Whose name was called the Rock.

Though many who inherit
His princedom and his tomb,
Must dimly hold their darkling court
Within the catacomb ;
And they who with him whisper
The Galilean Name,
Must face the fell arena's fray,
And often feed, on festal-day,
The lion and the flame.

Beneath the Empire's shadow
His Dynasty shall dwell,—
The Palatine for thee and thine,
For them, the quarried cell :—
Beyond the Empire's ruin
His Heritors descend,
Till the slow ages' laggard bell
Double the heathen time shall tell,
Nor yet shall tell the end.

When, from the savage Northland,
Rushes a Vandal flood,
Eager to lave with venging wave
Thy citadel of blood,
The latest futile Cæsar

Falls from his lofty seat ;
But he who wields the Fisher's net
Sees the wild torrent harmless fret
In ripples at his feet.

Like mountains clad in silver,
Range upon distant range,
That listen to the spheric song
While sovereignties change :
Like long sierras, lifting
Their lines of lasting walls,
Where tidal nations heave and sink,
And pour their waters o'er the brink
Of Death's tremendous falls :

Extends the far Succession,
Patient, and calm, and high ;
And generations come and go,
And brief dominions die ;
And on, and on, it reaches,
Enduring and sublime,
When memories of Cæsar fail,
Saving a half-forgotten tale
Of glory and of crime.

Beyond the western ocean
Where drowned Atlantis lies,
And where the Cross unsetting stands
Upon the southern skies,
Where never Roman galley
Has passed the lonely seas,
Men, in the days that are to come,
Shall look to Peter, and to Rome,
And to the Mighty Keys.

JOHN G. WELCH.

How to stop the "Leakage:" Our Catholic Industrial Schools.

PART II.

EMBOLDENED by the kind reception given to the former article in THE MONTH for May of last year, which was printed (by special desire) for distribution in more than one diocese, we return to the further consideration of so interesting a topic. It is proposed, first of all, to treat of two elements, which tend to give a Catholic Industrial School that undoubted success which we claim for it as a stop to the "leakage" of the Church in our country. The two elements that mainly go to keep up that cheerful and religious tone, which should be the special characteristic of a Catholic Industrial School, are the perfection of the material building, and the good influence of the various superiors or officers.

The first of these refers to the perfection of the different portions of the school-fabric, and their fitness to fulfil the end for which they were erected. Government regulations fix the cubic feet of the class-rooms, dormitories, and the like, and that too so rigorously that no small strain is thereby put on Catholic charity that has struggled to raise such institutions. It is only their adornment we propose to treat of here. It is often insisted, that the inmates of an Industrial School should breathe, as it were, a religious atmosphere. For this purpose, there should be certain pictures to catch the eye on the walls of the various rooms, where the young people pass various hours of the day. Each year our chief illustrated magazines issue a quantity of good and well-coloured chromographs, which, when suitably mounted and framed,¹ brighten the walls of a school-room or refectory. But conspicuous among these might be placed *some* pictures of a religious nature. A set of nine large

¹ The most suitable style in which to treat these is a *grey* mount, with an *oak* frame. A *white* mount never agrees with the rich colouring of the oleographs, and a *gilt* frame is affected by the gas.

oleographs of the "Life of our Lord," after the chief Italian masters, have been produced by a London firm, and are for such purposes but little inferior to the expensive Arundel Art Series, though they are one-tenth the price. But what is perhaps exactly the thing wanted for our Catholic school is the series of large chromographs, illustrating the entire Catechism, viz., "Catechisme en Images," printed by an ecclesiastical press in Paris. With the exception of a few, which are neither well arranged nor clear in meaning, the bulk are well designed and splendidly coloured. (A small guide-book can be had in French, explaining the entire series, which is approved of by the French Hierarchy.)

In the dormitory, there should be nothing of a profane nature to distract the eye, which should be directed, the last thing at night and the first thing on waking, to a pious subject. In one Industrial School, pictures of the "Via Crucis" have been placed on the walls of the dormitories, so that a scene of the Passion greets the eye at every turn. As the lads turn in at night and leave in the morning, the holy-water stoup should be in a convenient spot near the door, in order that their hands may reach it easily. Thus will they be taught to use and to reverence one of the oldest and holiest sacramentals of the Church, which she uses in all her various blessings. The best arrangement for a holy-water stoup of this kind is not that of a fragile porcelain ornament hanging on a nail, but a small cavity made in the wall, fitted with a small vessel so neatly, as not to be disturbed by the hand of the heedless youngster.

In one Orphanage this plan is adopted. One of the older boys stands with a glass dish of holy water in his hand at the foot of the stairs, so that every boy passing up to bed can easily dip his finger therein.

The second secret of success in an Industrial School will be the staff of officers, holding the reins of government. Now, there seems but little doubt that a Religious Order is, for more reasons than one, most fitted to rule a lively "commune" of British schoolboys, whose love of freedom and independence has no counterpart in any other European race! However good and devout a layman and his wife may be (and we know of certain cases where nothing could exceed the earnest care and parental love of such towards those under their control), yet they lack the "religious habit." Now, it is well known, that

boys from their earliest years are most susceptible of impressions, and are very inquisitive creatures, ever noticing all that goes on around them. The constant sight of the religious habit, the routine of religious life with its regular hours of prayer, and so forth, all this is a continual lesson and example to the most thoughtless. Thus, the nun's veil and beads, the soutane and white *rabat* of the Christian Brother, in the school-room or playground, is to the youngsters a sermon, more powerful than any heard in the pulpit; and in this atmosphere of religion the most wild and froward become by degrees softened and changed. Nor is there anything remarkable in this. These devoted persons have renounced the world, and bound themselves by rule to teach the poor and forsaken, to gather up these fragments of humanity "lest they be lost." In return, God has infused into them a love and a devotion to their little charges, such as we see but rarely even among those who call themselves Christians.

Our late revered Cardinal Manning calls this love of souls "a sixth sense." Some men, he adds, have so little of it, as to seem to have none: some so much that it controls all their life.¹ The boys themselves are not slow to see this, and hence there is called into existence that greatest factor of success, a *spirit of cheerful obedience* to superiors, who are not only respected, but also loved. It is this "sixth sense," this love of souls, which actuated certain holy men to found special Religious Orders for teaching and watching over the poor and neglected little ones of Christ. Their names are, or ought to be, familiar to us, a Vincent of Paul, a Jerome Æmilian, a Joseph Calasancius, Blessed de la Salle, and last of all, in our own days, Don Bosco of Turin. Of these, and of all those good men and women who are treading in their footsteps, engaged as they are in the noble work of teaching and raising up from their wretchedness the poor children of our cities, may we not apply those words of Job: "I was an eye to the blind and a foot to the lame; I was the father of the poor, and the cause which I knew not I searched out diligently."²

In a sermon preached by the late Archbishop of Westminster, when a priest, at St. James', Spanish Place, London, July, 1856, he pleaded the cause of the Boys' Reformatory, Hammersmith, then recently opened. In that touching language peculiarly his own, he strove to excite the compassion of his audience;

¹ *Eternal Priesthood*, p. 226.

² Job xxix. 16.

and as his words apply, in a certain way, to all poor lads confined in similar institutions, we venture to quote them here :

You must bear with me if I speak plainly, for I cannot otherwise convey to you what I mean. These poor convict boys who are now under the care of the Brothers of Mercy range from about twelve to fifteen years. The first ten that were convicted and placed in this Reformatory School were convicted for the following offences—the first had stolen a bit of lead ; the second, a pot of jam ; the third had stolen 9d. ; the fourth had stolen 5d. ; the fifth, a blanket ; the sixth, five glass bottles, and so on. Now I ask you, brethren in Jesus Christ—you who come to the Sacrament of Penance—is the formal guilt, in the sight of Almighty God, of these poor boys, comparable to the guilt of many sins that you yourself have had to confess ? Is the violation of the Divine law by these poor little criminals to be compared with the formal guilt of conscious and deliberate sins of pride, jealousy, self-indulgence, neglect of God, of which we, on entering into ourselves, have had often to accuse ourselves, week after week, in the Sacrament of Penance ? Then let us have mercy upon them.

We now propose to say a word or two about three great means of sanctification for a Boys' Industrial School—Mass, Benediction, and the monthly reception of the sacraments.

1. By Mass we here mean Mass on Sundays and festivals *only*, for though some Religious Orders hold a different opinion, yet it seems out of place to allow the boys of an Industrial School to attend *daily* Mass, considering the nature of their future life.¹ It may be asked, What greater blessing can there be than to be present at the Holy Sacrifice ? Granted, for the students of our Colleges, and for convent-girls, who may well be supposed to appreciate such a means of grace, and have the will and opportunity of following up the good habit in after-life. But for the boys we allude to, the "raw material," as it were, of humanity, the effect would be far different to what we desire. There seems to be a strong and well-grounded opinion, that the frequent attendance of *such* at Mass would lead to that familiarity, which," as St. Paul says, "breeds contempt," and would be likely to engender a disgust for so great an act. Might not also the Sunday's Mass consequently be shorn of its dignity ; as these young folks, who are unable to discriminate, might fail to associate this great act of worship with that special day, on which a strict obligation binds them to attend Mass.

¹ The late Bishop of Liverpool, whose diocese contained perhaps more of such institutions than any other in the kingdom, was very decided on this point.

As, alas! one of the commonest faults of our young men, as clergy in large towns can painfully bear witness to, is absence from Sunday Mass, we cannot sufficiently impress upon these young people the importance of this duty, and their future temptations to neglect it in after-life. We priests have frequently been told to count the number of boys in our flock who attend Mass *after* they have left the day-school. The result is often enough but too sad. But in an Industrial School the lads are marched off, in military style, to church every Sunday and holy-day, and this to the age of sixteen. Let them be firmly grounded in the fact that this is not a mere wholesome rule of the institution, but their bounden duty to Almighty God. There does seem to be a danger, lest, like the boys of our day-schools, they acquire a habit of imagining that attendance at Mass on Sunday is part of a *régime*, which can be thrown aside, as soon as their longed-for liberty sets them free to be their own masters.

As to the attendance of Industrial School boys at Mass various customs hold good. Thus, in some places, they all go to the last Mass—solemn, with music and sermon, except on the “Communion Sunday,” when they attend an early Mass. In other places, they are divided into two sets and drafted off to two early Masses, as their presence in a body at one and the same time would take up too much space in the church. Where the institution has no chapel of its own (more’s the pity!) of course all these arrangements belong to the clergy of the mission in which it is situated. To the former plan there would seem to be this objection, that High Mass will be long and tedious, and the sermon not always so intelligible to such young people.

Another point naturally arises here. Is it not possible for the weekly Mass, which they attend, to be offered *for* them, that is, in the strictest meaning of the word; the usual “retribution” being made from the school expenses? It may be urged, that they have their share in the Mass offered each Sunday *pro populo*. But an Industrial or Reformatory School constitutes a community in itself, and surely the Holy Sacrifice offered weekly for the youthful inmates would produce untold good, and prove a powerful means of sanctification for them.

2. Another means of grace, and one not to be passed over lightly, is Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. Excepting the case where there is a private chapel, attendance at this beautiful

Catholic rite is a privilege not always known at an Industrial School. Hence, grumbling in certain quarters, because the poor lads have not been afforded the opportunity of attending and appreciating Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

Where this happens to be the case, we can scarcely expect that they will ever come to Benediction in after-life, nor will their love of the House of God be ever fostered to any great degree by a single attendance at church on Sunday for a Low Mass. But to this the parochial clergy may naturally object, that it would be impossible to find room for them at the evening service, and even, at the afternoon Benediction for the children of the day-school, the church is so filled as not to allow room for two or three hundred boys. Then surely, at least, on one night in the week, the Industrial School might be accommodated with Benediction, which the lads would appreciate probably all the more that it was for them, and them only!

It is a common complaint, that our churches are but poorly attended at evening service, and even the front seats, reserved for the better class, are too often woefully empty. In our instructions we dilate upon the beauty of this holy rite, and encourage our flocks to attend at it on Sundays or evenings during the week. Here we have in our many Industrial Schools throughout the land, a rising population, who, if they be not made familiar with Benediction now in their childhood, can hardly be expected to feel for it the love and reverence they ought in after-life.

3. More powerful, however, than Mass and Benediction, as a means of sanctification, must ever stand pre-eminent the monthly reception of the sacraments. At this early period of their life, what assiduous and constant care is ever being bestowed upon these young people, in order that they should be kept in vigorous health. Hence, baths and frequent ablutions; ample meals daily of wholesome food varied by a "dietary" approved of by authority—all this is wisely ordained, to secure what the poet deemed so desirable, a "sound mind in a sound body."

If this be the attention given to the body, how much more necessary is it that the soul should also undergo a like care, and be purified and nourished by that Heavenly Food which "begetteth virgins."¹ There is one thing that leads more than the best exhortation to the practice of the virtue of purity

¹ Zach. ix. 17.

(utterly neglected in boys' schools outside the pale of the Church), and that is the reception of the Holy Eucharist. In this Sacrament our sinful clay comes in contact with the Body of Christ, so that the words of the Apostle of the Gentiles seem to be verified: "For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal put on immortality."¹

But there is good reason to believe that this great benefit of monthly Confession and Communion is considerably weakened by boys being divided for convenience into different sets for different Sundays. For by the sacraments *not* being received by all *at one and the same time* their powerful action is to a certain extent foiled, and they fail to "leaven the whole mass" of the school, in that thorough way they should. To explain more clearly what we mean. Those who have been to Holy Communion the *first* week naturally begin to fall away, as the month goes on, in spite of all their good resolutions. Thus, as the result, there is a mixture of the "lapsed," and of those starting again to be good, a "blend," so to speak, of saints and sinners! Now, this system has been found to militate against the general sanctification of the entire school, and retard that spiritual progress in the boys, which we often look for, and yet as often find our hopes cheated. Let them all, however, approach the sacraments on one and the *same* day (or at least on two *consecutive* days), and then all are "started fairly in the race," and will "pull together" in one united effort to be good. It may be urged that this plan may entail no small labour once a month on our over-worked clergy, and prove a serious demand upon their time, especially in a large mission. But, when the matter is examined, this will not necessarily be the case. There are always to be found a few zealous priests, belonging to small missions, who would devote a couple of hours to the confessional once a month, so that the entire Industrial School could be confessed on *one fixed* Friday afternoon, and thus be enabled to approach the altar the following morning.

We may mention that this scheme *has* been adopted and acted upon in one large Industrial School for many years, and it bears evident fruit in the edifying behaviour which always exists there.

The question of "Retreats" naturally suggests itself at this point, and we learn that some schools have an annual one of

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 5.

three or four days' duration, while others have one at more distant intervals. In these "Retreats" it is *not* found to be advisable to require that *continual silence*, which is observed in our colleges and convents on such occasions. To such a class of children as are in our Industrial Schools this silence would be unintelligible, and might even lead to the youngsters getting into mischief. Their ordinary school-routine goes on each day, but early in the morning and at noon, as also after their day's work is over and at the close of the day, a short meditation or instruction is given. Here we may state, from personal experience of both Industrial Schools and Reformatories, that the behaviour of the lads during a Retreat is most exemplary. This is a fact not known to the outer world, but none the less as indisputable as it is edifying. Remember, these children have not been brought up to lives of piety under the sweetest of home influence, but come from the poorest and most neglected class in the land. Yet, whilst putting in their half-day school, and half-day work in the "shops," they will sit in rapt attention listening to three or four meditations daily on what is to them, one might think, the driest of subjects.

Nothing can be considered of little importance, which serves to give a child a religious tone, especially in his earliest years. Hence, it seems most fitting that every boy in an Industrial School should wear a blessed medal, or an Agnus Dei, and, after his First Communion, be enrolled in the Brown Scapular. These will in course of time wear out, or get lost, but a little care on the part of those in authority, will ensure the boys having another one without delay. They are undoubtedly more reckless than girls in these matters, and cast off these pious emblems with their clothes, and thus lose them. At least let a boy on leaving be enrolled in the Brown Scapular, the most venerable of all our Confraternities, which is such a bond of union with the Blessed Virgin, ensuring untold blessings to the wearer. It is most consoling to see how many of these boys will invest their odd coppers in a good pair of rosary-beads. These they often wear round their necks, and display a child-like love for that most popular of all devotions. That a boy should be wearing no religious emblem whatever is certainly very sad, especially as the poor fellow has to face daily those various temptations to sin, from which even the youngest are not exempt.

There is another point, which is worthy of mention here,

namely, the question of "badges," worn on the arm at certain Industrial Schools. These stripes of gold braid or other material, if well-deserved and confined to a few boys, cannot fail to produce a good effect on the rest of the community. Far be it from us to encourage aught that might for a moment foster "priggishness," since there is nothing more disgusting in boys of all classes and creeds than a "prig!" But where the bearer of a "badge" or decoration is an "all round" good boy, yet without any "uppishness" in his character, he will not cease thereby to be popular with his companions. Boys, after their own natural lights, are not bad judges of character, and are oftentimes as fair and honest in their criticism as the so-called wise and deceitful world around them. Thus, the little *commune*, which exists in an Industrial School, will readily acknowledge and respect the right of a boy to wear a gold conduct-stripe on his jacket, if it has been won *openly* and *fairly*!¹ Sometimes, also, it is the custom to give a stripe of red or blue to certain boys, who act as monitors. This is regarded as a badge of honour by the wearer, and denotes that he has charge in some way of his juniors, or has certain little extra duties to perform, the doing of which is esteemed a privilege.

One word in conclusion. Having trained a boy up so as to make him a good citizen and devout Christian, is there anything else that the Industrial School can do for him? Certainly, and something most important, to keep a friendly eye upon him, and persuade him to hold friendly intercourse with the school by letter, or by visits. For those boys who have a good home, all further anxiety may cease; but alas! it is too true, that there are a considerable number, who have not, and never had, this blessing. For these to return to the house and street from which they were once rescued, would be to undo the work of many years. For all such lads, there ought to be a "home," if possible, attached to, and in connection with every Industrial School, where they might be kept, and have their board and lodging, paying their wages to the manager thereof. It is the complaint of more than one Industrial School manager that there is no such home. Where such do exist,

¹ At St. Joseph's Industrial School, Longsight, Manchester, in charge of the Christian Brothers, these boys, called "stripers," are, as it were, serjeants over sections of twenty-four boys each. They are responsible for the conduct of those under them, and are, we hear, loyally obeyed by their "liege-men!" See "Boys to Mend," by Rev. R. F. Clarke, S.J., THE MONTH, August, 1893.

we hope to show hereafter that the good which results to boys, who are kept there, is inestimable. Boys who have left, and yet have no home to return to, can thus start work in the neighbourhood, and lead a creditable life, whereas, but for such a "home," the poor fellows would return to their former ways of poverty and sin.

By all means, then, let the boys who leave be encouraged to write to the school, and give an account of their progress. Let them be taught to feel that their former superiors take the liveliest interest in all that belongs to them. If such an intercourse can be established with the "old boys," it is the highest praise the institution can receive, that it still enjoys the confidence of those whom it once received as outcast and helpless. It is a custom in some places, and one most laudable, that the "old boys" should revisit the Industrial School on Sundays, or festivals, or public holidays, receiving there a hearty welcome. Surely that is a moment of honest pride in a youth's life, when he turns up on such occasions to visit those who have for so many years been interested in his welfare.

We all know what exuberant and loud-spoken joy there is at a college or school, when on the "big days" old friends meet once more. But, reader, such a feeling is not the proud heritage alone of the rich and favoured ones of this world. The poor and lowly were made out of the same clay as their betters, and their hearts can experience similar sensations. Thus, when a youth re-visits the playground of the Industrial School, the warmest reception will greet him. See, how his former companions press around him! With what scrutiny they scan his toilet, and examine him critically, from the pin of his neck-tie to his shining boots! He will tell his old "chums," with his own simple eloquence, that the "school" has made him what he now is, able to earn his bread, and an upright and good member of society. What he is now, each of the boys will be one day, sooner or later, when that happy time comes for them to emerge from the chrysalis-state and go forth the perfect insect!

A SECULAR PRIEST.

The Hungarian Confession.

IT is often a puzzle to understand how nations which for a thousand years were so deeply attached to the Catholic Faith could have been brought in the course of about a century to regard the same Faith with an equally deep-rooted aversion. And if the puzzle is to a certain extent solved for us when we perceive that the ideas of the later age about Catholic doctrines and institutions are grotesquely erroneous and calumnious, we are further perplexed to understand how such false ideas could in the first instance have obtained currency. Those who have devoted study to the subject know that downright frauds have played their part, and that not a small part, in producing the evil result—frauds, that is to say, in which the few were the perpetrators and the many the victims.

An example of the kind of frauds which have done duty in this way is the document usually called the Hungarian Confession. It is a fraud directed primarily against the Jesuits, but through them against the Catholic Church herself, which would have to be held responsible for the use of so improper a formula by a Religious Order within its communion.

In England this spurious document has not been extensively used for controversial purposes. It was brought forward, however, in 1847, by Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. Dr. Wordsworth, in the second of his *Letters to M. Gondon*, assumed its genuineness as undisputed, citing the authority of Streitwolf and Klener, who had given it a place in their Collection. But finding to his apparent surprise that the *Dublin Review*¹ was not prepared to accept such an argument as final, he endeavoured in another letter to support it by reasons drawn from the German work of Herr Mohnike. With Mohnike's reasons we shall have to deal presently, and we may therefore dismiss Dr. Wordsworth, except to say that, misled

¹ July, 1847.

by his advocacy, subsequent controversialists have occasionally assumed the genuineness of the so-called Confession.¹

It is in Germany which (or else Hungary) is probably the country of its origin, that the fraud has been chiefly utilized; for in that country during the last two centuries quite a chain of instances can be named when, on the reception of a convert into the Catholic Church, some one has come forward with the confident statement that the Hungarian Confession was exacted from the neophyte, and the report has usually obtained a widespread credit. It is to the German use, therefore, of the document that we will confine ourselves in this article.

Let us begin by placing the document before us. There are great variations in its text, as there are wont to be in the texts of spurious documents. The version given here is from the earliest printed book in which it is found—Lani's *Captivitas Papistica*.

The Confession of Faith of the new Catholics in Hungary.

I. We believe and confess that, through the singular care of our rulers, spiritual and temporal, solely and entirely by the diligence and assistance bestowed upon us by Messieurs the Jesuit Fathers (*Dominorum Patrum Societatis*), we have been converted from the heretical way and belief to the true Roman Catholic and saving (way). And that we wish, of our own free-will without any compulsion, to confess the same publicly with mouth and tongue before the whole world.

II. We confess that the Roman Pope is the Head of the Church and cannot err.

III. We confess and believe that the Pope is the Vicar of Christ, and has power, according to his pleasure, to forgive and retain sins, to cast down into Hell and to excommunicate.

IV. We confess that every novelty which the Pope has established, whether it be in the Scriptures or out of them, and everything which he commands, is true, divine, and of saving power; and that the laity must receive all such as the word of the living God.

V. We confess that the most holy Pope ought to be honoured with divine honour, and with deeper genuflexions than Christ Himself.

VI. We confess and affirm that the Pope must be listened to by every one and in all matters, as the most holy Father, and that all heretics who resist his orders, without exception and without compassion, should not only by means of the fire be cast out of our midst, but should also be thrust down body and soul into Hell.

VII. We confess that the reading of the Scriptures is the origin of all heresies and of all sects, and is also the source of all blasphemies.

¹ See the *Antidote* for April 29, 1890, and the *Gainsborough Discussion* (1888) in Father Anderdon's *Polemica*.

VIII. We confess that it is a divine, holy, and useful thing to invoke the dead saints, to honour their pictures, to bow the knee before them, to make pilgrimages to them, to dress them up, to burn lights before them.

IX. We confess that every priest is much greater than the Mother of God herself, since she only gave birth to the Lord Christ once, and does not give birth to Him any more; whereas a Romish priest sacrifices and creates the Lord Christ, not only when he will, but also in whatever way he will; nay, after he has created Him he even devours Him.

X. We confess that it is useful and salutary to read mass for the dead, to give alms for them, and to pray for them.

XI. We confess that the Roman Pope has power to change the Scripture, and, according to his will, to add to it or take from it.

XII. We confess that the souls after death are purified in Purgatory, and that aid towards their redemption is obtained through the masses of the priests.

XIII. We confess that to receive the Lord's Supper under one kind is good and saving, but under both kinds is heretical and damnable.

XIV. We confess and believe that those who receive the Holy Communion under one kind receive and use the whole Christ with His Body and Blood, His Divinity and His Bones, but that those who use both kinds, obtain and eat only plain bread.

XV. We confess that there are seven true and real sacraments.

XVI. We confess that God is honoured through pictures, and that by them He is made known to men.

XVII. We confess that the Holy Virgin Mary ought to be held both by angels and by men to be higher than Christ, the Son of God Himself.

XVIII. We confess that the Holy Virgin Mary is a Queen of Heaven and reigns equally with her Son, who is obliged to do everything according to her will.

XIX. We confess that the bones of the saints have great power in themselves, and that they ought on that account to be honoured by men and have chapels built to them.

XX. We confess that the Roman doctrine is Catholic, pure, divine and saving, ancient and true; but that the Evangelical doctrine (from which we freely depart), is false, erroneous, blasphemous, accursed, heretical, perditionous, seditious, impious, spurious, and fictitious. While, therefore, the Roman religion is wholly and entirely good and holy under one kind in all its interpretations, we curse all those who have offered us this opposite and impious heresy under both kinds. We curse our parents who brought us up in this heretical belief; we curse all those who caused us to doubt or suspect the Roman Catholic belief. So too (we curse), the two who gave us the accursed chalice. Yea, we also curse ourselves and call ourselves accursed, in that we took

part in this accursed heretical chalice, which it did not become us to drink out of.

XXI. We confess that the Holy Scripture is imperfect and a dead letter as long as it is not explained to us by the Pope of Rome, but is left to the layman, or common man, to read. We confess that a mass for the dead, said by a Roman priest, is of much more use than a hundred and more Evangelical sermons. And we, therefore, curse all the books which we have read in which this heretical and blasphemous doctrine is contained. We curse also all our works which we did whilst we lived in this heretical doctrine, so that they may not receive from God their deserts at the Last Judgment. All this we do with a right conscience, and by a public act of retractation, in the presence of the Reverend Lord Father, of the honourable gentlemen and the respected matrons, of the youths and maidens, we confirm (our belief) that the Roman Church in these and the like articles, is the truest Church. Moreover, we swear that we will never, as long as our life lasts, return to this heretical doctrine under both kinds, even if it were permitted us or could be done. We swear, also, that as long as there is a spark of life in our bodies, we will persecute this accursed Evangelical doctrine, utterly, secretly, and openly, by violence and deceit, with words and deeds, even the sword not excepted. Lastly, we swear before God, before the Holy Angels, and before you here present, that (even if there should come to pass some change in the authorities of Church or State), we will never, through fear or through favour, decline from this blessed Roman Catholic and Divine Church, nor return to the accursed Evangelical heresy, or take up with the same again.

The chief leader among these new Catholics was Elias Gressner, principal pastor in the city of Neusohl, who, after he had first of all signed it, was compelled soon after to recite it in the church there, just about the time when we at Presburg were brought up before the court of the high priest and received this news of his apostacy.

Here is the document, and we are not surprised to hear from a Protestant who wrote much on the subject, that when he showed it to a Catholic friend, the friend's reply was, "If that is Christianity, I turn to the heathen."¹

It would be superfluous to demonstrate for the sake of readers of *THE MONTH* that this alleged Confession is spurious. The point of view from which we propose to consider it is therefore historical rather than theological.² Let us seek our

¹ Mohnike, *Fluchformular*.

² It is right that we should express our indebtedness to Father Bernhard Duhr, S.J., who, in his *Jesuiten-fabeln* (No. 7, pp. 141—166), has given an excellent account of the history of the Hungarian Confession, as well as of other famous historical charges against the Society of Jesus. This little work, published by Herder, is well worth obtaining.

interest in learning what sort of evidence has satisfied minds by no means deficient in character or learning, but filled with prejudice against the Catholic Church.

It will perhaps be more interesting to trace the history backwards rather than forwards. We need not trouble ourselves with its more recent use, except to say that up to the present day in Germany instances are not wanting of its having been used as an instrument for exciting prejudice against the Jesuits, whenever the movement for their expulsion or recall has been active. Thus in 1891 it was printed by several newspapers and journals of repute, the notorious Court preacher, Herr Stocker, making himself conspicuous in the fray. But let us take our point of departure from the publication of Streitwolf and Klener's *Libri Symbolici Catholicæ Ecclesiæ* in 1838. These writers were Catholics, and their Collection counts as a scientific work. In the body of the work they give the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, the Canons and Decrees of Trent, the Profession of Faith of Pius IV., and the Catechism of the Council of Trent. As appendices they give five other Professions of Faith which they say are of less authority, but of which the other four are as clearly genuine as they are unobjectionable. Fourth in number among these five is our Hungarian Confession, and the account given of it in the Preface is as follows :

The author is unknown, and its age is not clearly ascertained ; but it appears to have been composed in Hungary about the year 1673 by Fathers of the Society of Jesus. This inhuman form, which is so very different from the Tridentine Profession of Faith, was first of all exacted from the Evangelicals (in Hungary)¹ who were received back into the Catholic Faith, but its use was afterwards extended even to Germany.

Not unnaturally the enemies of the Church lay stress on the religion of these collectors. One would like, however, to know what sort of Catholics they were, and it is at all events significant that in the second edition of their work, published eight years later (1846), although the passage in the Preface remains unaltered, the Confession has been silently removed from the Appendix in which the other four Professions of Faith are still to be read. Evidently the surviving collector, Klener, had been enlightened by the discussions which took place during the eight years' interval.

¹ Hence its name of Hungarian Confession.

These collectors speak of the Confession as having been originally composed in Hungary, but as having in course of time passed into use in Germany as well. We shall inquire into its alleged use in Hungary in a second article. In the present article let us see on what grounds the belief that it was ever used in Germany is based.

In 1819, Wachler, a theologian of repute, published the text in his *Theologische Nachrichten*,¹ stating that it had recently been recited publicly at Augsburg on the occasion of the reception of a convert. Other papers repeated the story, but soon began to vary among themselves, some maintaining that the scandalous deed had been done at Augsburg, others at Würzburg. That no names or dates were given is only what we might expect. The Vicars-General, both of Augsburg and Würzburg, forthwith protested that the story, so far as regarded the places for which they were responsible, was a mere calumny, and as the name of the contributor to Wachler's periodical was suppressed, the Vicar-General of Würzburg declared his intention to apply for a remedy to the courts of justice. Very likely he carried out his intention, but at this distance of time one cannot obtain evidence of every event in the history.

An anti-Catholic slander, however, has as many lives as a cat, and one or two years later, in 1821, the Easter Programme, or Closing Address, of the University of Königsberg had for its subject-matter, Professions of Faith as employed in the Roman Church. The author of this Programme, a certain Dr. Wald, spoke of the Hungarian Confession categorically as one which was publicly prescribed in Hungary, and had never yet been disavowed by the Pope. He also stated his conviction that there was trustworthy evidence of its use on several occasions in Germany.

Although it was outrageous that so distinguished a University—the University which had given birth to the philosophy of Kant—should have sealed with its acceptance a palpable fabrication, one advantage at least followed from the attention thus directed to the subject. Several writers on both sides determined to submit this Confession to a thorough investigation. Among them may be named, as having written on the Catholic side, Jordansky.² Jordansky was Provost of Gran, the Primatial see of Hungary, and therefore an authority on

¹ P. 527.

² *De Hæresi abjuranda quid statuât Ecclesia Romana.* Auctore Alexio Jordansky.

Hungarian affairs. The little volume which resulted from his researches is, on the whole, the best contribution to the controversy that we have. Two other Catholic writers of great merit at this time were Gratz and Brunquell.

On the Protestant side, Dr. Mohnike, of the University of Greisswald, wrote two works, *Urkundlichen Geschichte*, in 1822, and *Zur Geschichte des Hungarischen Fluchformular*, in 1823. The latter of these treatises is decidedly the best of those which maintain the genuineness of the Confession. The writer was a man of scholarly reputation, and there is an appearance, though not the reality, of judicial method about his treatise, which imparts to it a certain persuasiveness. We may take his summary as the basis for our further researches. It states as the conclusion at which this scientific author has arrived, that the Confession is certainly genuine, and that its use on four distinct occasions has been sufficiently demonstrated. These instances are stated by him to be as follows:

1. In 1750, the Confession was publicly made by two young ladies, daughters of the Hofkammerrath Majus, in the Convent of Escherde, on their reception into the Church by the Jesuit Fathers.

2. In 1725, it was made by a certain matron named Anna Klasin, at Ulm in Bavaria.

3. In 1717, it was taken by Duke Maurice of Saxony-Zeiz, on his reception into the Church, at Tocksan in Hungary.

4. In 1674, it was taken at Presburg in Upper Hungary, or in its neighbourhood, by Elias Gressner and others, ex-ministers of the Evangelical religion, who at that time were forced by threats of persecution into unreal conversion. Gressner, it will be remembered, is the name attached to the text as cited above.

Beyond these four cases, in which he judges that the Confession was used in its complete form, Mohnike congratulates himself on his good fortune in being able to furnish strong evidence of its use in a more rudimentary form so early as 1629, or thereabouts, at Glogau in Silesia, on the occasion of some enforced conversions.

We will examine these cases, and we shall see how in each of them the evidence melts away into nothing.

First in order comes the Escherde case, interesting because of the reputation for scholarship which the accusers could legitimately claim as belonging to them. This alleged case was

first heard of in 1787, in the *Magazin für Kirchenrecht*—published in Gottingen in 1787—of the celebrated scholar Böhmer. In the first volume of this publication¹ the editor gives the text in a somewhat more exaggerated form than that transcribed above, and then adds :

Profession of Faith of two young ladies of family, converts from the Lutheran to the Catholic Faith.—It was recited by them on their reception in the Convent of Escher, near Hildesheim, in 1750.

This Profession of Faith, which has clearly been composed by some inhuman priest, I obtained from an authentic copy of the original which was used on the day of the reconciliation. The copy was secretly made and taken away from the convent by the mother and sister of the two ladies. The names of the persons who recited it I do not give to the public, but if any one desires to know them, I place myself at his service. The father of the two girls, together with their two brothers, had been received into the Catholic Church previously. Their mother and a third sister, who remained Evangelicals, were present at the ceremony.

Böhmer goes on to deprecate the notion that so evil a form was in general use among Catholics. He asks his readers to regard it merely as a memorial of the past, of what had been done now and again by inhuman priests, and done unfortunately even as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, but which, please God, would never be used again by any one whatever.

In a later paper,² Böhmer adds that he had since remembered two other sources of information which were accessible, and which confirmed his account of the Escherde case by proving independently the existence and use of the Confession. One of them was the *Captivitas Papistica* of George Lani (1676), of which we shall hear a good deal more presently. The other was the series called the *Acta Historico-Ecclesiastica* of Bartholomæi, of Weimar, a publication which Böhmer characterizes as being "the richest and most trustworthy source of Church History of the present century and generally known to be such by all students." Böhmer also mentions a case which had recently come to his notice—through information received from a friend—of the use of the Confession only eleven years previously. We need not trouble ourselves, however, about this last case, as Böhmer tells us afterwards that the friend in question had disappeared into space, and his story, being vague in its details, was no longer capable of verification.

¹ P. 152.

² *Ibid.* p. 310.

As might have been expected, when the news of so serious an attack upon their reputation reached the Convent of Escherde, all there were filled with indignation. An inquiry was at once instituted, the Prince-Bishop of Hildesheim himself setting it in motion. The result was in course of time signified to Professor Böhmer by Provost Bendler of Escherde, the chaplain of the convent. The inquiry had discovered that the persons referred to must be the ladies already named, the daughters of Hofkammerrath Majus; but that these ladies had been received in 1738, not in 1750; at Hildesheim in the Jesuit Church there, not at Escherde, although one of them afterwards became a nun at Escherde; and that the mother and sister who, according to the account given, had been present at the ceremony and then purloined a copy of the document, had not been present at all—the only relation present being a cousin, Canon Witten, who had since died, as also had the two ladies themselves. Provost Bendler's letter was printed in the *Hamburg Adress-Comptoir Nachrichten* (January 24, 1788), and together with it a declaration, attested by a notary, from the surviving brother of the two ladies, certifying that the Profession of Faith used at the ceremony was not that with which his sisters had been charged, but one which the Catholic Church notoriously used and prescribed.

Böhmer's reply to this categorical refutation of his story is very typical of the policy adopted in similar instances by the slanderers of the Catholic Church. He¹ explains that the document he had published had been given to him by a person advanced in years and in the public service, who in turn had received it from a friend then dead, "whose honour he (this intermediary) had never had reason to doubt," and that "this deceased friend had given it to him as an unquestionably authentic document, accompanying the gift with an oral account of its history." The intermediary had added that within a few days of receiving the document from the deceased friend he had written down the substance of the accompanying oral account, and that the document had since lain among his papers as an interesting memorial of the lengths to which an unscrupulous cruelty could be carried.

Böhmer further tells his readers, it had not occurred to him

¹ The second volume of Böhmer's *Magazin*, in which this third paper is contained (p. 183) was not published till 1793. The article in question was of course written earlier, but at what precise date is not stated.

to doubt the story, confirmed as it was by such independent testimonies as Lani's in the *Captivitas Papistica*, and Bartholomæi's in his *Acta Historico-Ecclesiastica*. But (he says) after receiving Provost Bendler's letter, he had consulted the intermediary again, and the latter had written back assuring him that the deceased friend's memory might have gone astray as to some of the attendant circumstances, but certainly not as to the substance of the statement. In other words, although this deceased friend had proved untrustworthy as to the time and place of the ceremony, and as to the source whence he had derived his story, his authority might still be taken as sufficient proof that the scandalous Confession of Faith was the one used. Accordingly, Böhmer wrote back to Provost Bendler to say he must stand by his article to this extent, and that he noticed as lending confirmation to his story, that the function was now proved to have taken place in a Jesuit church. "It was the more conceivable," he said, "that such a Profession of Faith might have been used, as responsibility for the crime now more than ever seemed to fall on an Order which, if it had done much good, had also brought much evil into the world; an Order, too, which had apparently been the original composers of the document." At the same time, he did not dream of crediting the present generation of Escherde nuns with such an iniquity.

The Provost, however, had no intention of letting the wriggler off so cheaply. He wrote back to say that it was satisfactory to know that Böhmer acquitted the present inhabitants of the convent, but that Catholics could not feel really satisfied till the charge had also been withdrawn as regards the Jesuit Fathers, who "had been suppressed for reasons of which the truth had not yet been established." Hence he demanded of Böhmer a fuller retraction. On this, Böhmer saw the necessity of giving in a bit further, and replied that he would withdraw the charge altogether as regards the Hildesheim function, but that in view of the testimony of Lani in the *Captivitas Papistica* and of Bartholomæi in the *Acta Historico-Ecclesiastica*, he really must continue to believe that the Confession had been used at times in Hungary by barbarous zealots in the previous century, and even in the earlier part of the eighteenth, though not probably with the cognizance of the civil or ecclesiastical authorities.

The curious thing—which, however, does not seem to have

struck Böhmer—is that he was withholding the names both of his own immediate informant, and of the deceased friend by whom the latter had been instructed. Had these names been made public, it would have been at once possible to trace their story to its origin. Perhaps, however, Böhmer already suspected what he afterwards acknowledged, “that he had good cause for doubting the sincerity of the person who sent him the Confession of Faith.”¹

As Böhmer, after withdrawing the charge against the ladies of Hildesheim, maintained that at all events it had been used in Hungary, this being testified by Lani in the *Captivitas Papistica* and by Bartholomæi in his *Acta Historico-Ecclesiastica*, we may as well disengage ourselves at once from all concern about the latter publication. The article referred to is written by the editor on information received from some unknown person. Whether this unknown person hailed from Hungary or elsewhere, whether he was a direct spectator or not of the events he professed to narrate, are facts which the editor does not deem it necessary to mention. At the end of the article, however, this editor tells us of some suspicions he had felt as to the trustworthiness of the story, and how he had overcome them. He says the doctrine of the article (of the Confession) is so outrageous and goes so far beyond the Council of Trent, that he had hesitated to print it, lest it should be called in doubt. But he had come upon Lani's *Captivitas Papistica* in Reiser's German edition, in which exact details are given of the use of the same form, the very names of several apostates who had publicly pronounced it being preserved. Thus we find that as yet there is only one source of evidence behind the convictions of Böhmer and Bartholomæi, together with those of Wachler and Wald, who rely upon them.

We have no longer anything to fear from the most recent of the cases which satisfied the scientific Mohnike. Let us pass on to the others.

The case of Anna Klasin, the matron of Ulm, in Suabia, need not detain us long. Weislinger, a Bavarian Catholic writer, a contemporary of this lady, took the pains to inquire into the statement made about her as soon as it appeared.² Anna Klasin was received in one of the churches at Ulm in 1725. “The Catholic Profession of Faith, after the form

¹ Hamburg *Adress-Comptoir Nachrichten*, loc. cit.

² *Der Entlarvte lutherische Heilige*, iii. pp. 150—156.

presented by the Council of Trent, was made by the noble and virtuous lady, Anna Klasin, the wife of a citizen of Ulm. Shortly after, some unscrupulous Lutheran circulated, though in writing only (concealing his own name), a Confession of Faith which no one, not even the devil himself, would take. . . . For two days, by command of the illustrious magistracy, search was made for the anonymous libeller through the public crier, but in vain." Weislinger was a writer who did not mince his words, and he had perhaps some excuse in the impudence of the offence, for calling the unknown slanderer a "light-flying, day-shunning scoundrel."

Thus we despatch another of the cases which satisfied the scholarly Mohnike; for no other attempt was made at Ulm to substantiate the charge in face of the public denial given to it. All that happened, but what did happen, was that, as usual in such cases, when time had elapsed, the calumny was revived in other localities, with a suppression of the answer it had originally received.

Now we come to the case of Duke Maurice of Saxony-Zeiz in 1715. The brother of this Prince had been converted some twenty years previously, and in course of time became Cardinal and Bishop-Coadjutor of Gran in Hungary. Duke Maurice had for long been drawn towards the Catholic Faith, but had been kept back by the prospect of persecution and temporal losses which he foresaw would follow, and also by the fear of displeasing his wife, to whom he was devotedly attached, and who, moreover, exercised a dominating influence over him. This lady, who was the daughter of the reigning King of Prussia, was a strong Calvinist. At last he made up his mind and was received, but secretly, at the Convent of Tocksan, in Hungary, his brother, the Cardinal, officiating on the occasion. The fact was for a time successfully concealed, though with the full intention of publishing it as soon as due arrangements had been made. In 1717, however, it leaked out, and then the storm broke at once. His wife behaved like a tiger, actually stirring up the persecution against him, and in league with the Lutheran preachers pursuing him everywhere with calumny. By these means it was at last brought about that he was deprived of all his possessions by the application of an article of the Treaty of Westphalia, and then his creditors were urged to demand instant discharge of their claims on him, which were considerable. If we are to believe the story of his reconversion

in Buder's *Merkwürdige Leben*, which appeared shortly after his death, the effect of all these disasters must have been to break down his courage. According to this witness he was received back into the Lutheran Church and admitted to its communion on October 16, 1718. There is, however, some cause for distrusting this hostile authority. Only six weeks before the date mentioned, that is, on September 8th, the Duke wrote to his brother, the Cardinal, assuring him that the rumours of his apostasy already current, were quite ungrounded. "I assure your Eminence (he says) in all sincerity that no more detestable lie could have been spread concerning me by this impudent scoundrel. I am incapable of such inconstancy as well as guiltless of it." In face of this letter, Raess, the scholarly historian of German converts to the Faith,¹ thinks the story of his apostasy must have been fictitious, but that in any case it could not have been voluntary. Unfortunately the Duke was attacked by small-pox and died within a month after the alleged date of his reconversion. Thus we shall never know what really happened.

Soon after the conversion of Duke Maurice, or rather soon after the news of the event became public, a fly-sheet professing to have been printed at Mainz, and running in the Duke's name, appeared in another part of Germany. It contained what purported to be the Profession of Faith read by the Duke at his reception. There is no ground for thinking that this sheet was really printed at Mainz, but the reason why Mainz was printed on the title-page is clear. Mohnike falls into the trap when he says: "that the Catholic city of Mainz was the place of publication is not to be overlooked."

The Confession thus stated to have been made by the Duke is, we are not surprised to hear, the Hungarian Confession, at least in substance, and an apostate priest named Jüngling, who was probably the author of the fly-leaf, at once followed up its appearance with an *Untersuchung*, which, assuming its authenticity, refuted the doctrine contained in it *au grand sérieux*. This *Untersuchung* appeared first in 1717. A year later it reached Leipsic, and, creating much excitement, was brought under the Duke's notice. He at once ordered it to be burned by the common hangman, saying that "he neither would nor could have accepted such a Confession of Faith." In some places of his dominion his order was carried out, but at the important city of Plauen, the magistrates replied that they

¹ *Convertiten*, ix. pp. 268, seq.

could not conscientiously obey his Highness' order, as the book contained so much sound doctrine—they meant the doctrine enunciated by Jüngling in his refutation of the Confession—but that they were sorry that it should also contain what was displeasing to his Highness. The further to justify themselves, these hypocrites wrote to the University of Jena for an opinion, and received back a reply in the sense they desired. "If," said the Jena professors, "the Duke had really felt aggrieved by the publication, why did he not record his protest when it first appeared?" A thorough Protestant argument, but suppose the Duke did not know of its publication till the paper reached Leipsic?

It may be added that the Duke, in a letter written to the Pope immediately after his reception, and therefore long before the alleged Profession had been published, incidentally mentioned that he had made the Profession of Faith which one would naturally expect—the form prescribed by Pius IV.¹

One would imagine that the Duke's own disavowal would have sufficed to clear him, seeing that he was at least a man of respectable character, such as one ought not to credit with so odious an act, unless, indeed, on the strongest possible grounds. But the scholarly Mohnike none the less decides that he was guilty of it, and his reasoning is very interesting. He notices that the reception had taken place in Hungary, the region to which his other instances of the use of the Confession pointed, and he finds strong confirmation of the story in the fact that Jüngling published, though after the Duke's death, a list of what purported to be the motives which had led the Duke back to Lutheranism. Jüngling said these had been privately communicated to him, and what impresses Mohnike is that the motives thus alleged correspond with the clauses in the Hungarian Confession, being disavowals of them. It did not occur to Mohnike's scientific mind that the man who fabricated the fly-sheet might try to support his previous fraud by a fresh one. However, there is just one grain of possible fact suggested by Mohnike's reasoning. The Duke was received in Hungary, and possibly this was what suggested to his assailants to credit him with what they called the Hungarian Confession. Thus we are again passed on to Lani's *Captivitas Papistica* as the source of these repeated calumnies.

In another article we will examine into the credibility of this ultimate source.

S. F. S.

¹ The text of the letter is given by Raess, op. cit.

A Glimpse of Charitable Rome.

"NOBLESSE OBLIGE," as a practical maxim of daily life, has not been entirely renounced by the Roman nobility, even in these degenerate days of Banca Romana scandals, unpopular and unsuccessful wars, and demoralization springing from the ceaseless conflict between Church and State. Although a fatal passion for building speculations has brought certain great families to the verge of bankruptcy, although others have been turned from their ancient traditions by an opportunist devotion to the Royal family at the Quirinal, while crushing taxation and rising prices have impoverished nearly all, much yet remains of the glories of the Roman *Patriziato*, and with the material prosperity, something too of the obligations imposed by high rank. The great Roman palaces—the vastest in the whole world—still stand in stately array; their picture-galleries, stored with the treasures of centuries, are still thrown open to a globe-trotting public, and from in and out the spacious marble quadrangles still pass high-stepping horses and brilliant equipages. It is not, however, of the wealth of Rome, but of the responsibilities of wealth, that I would write to-day; not of the palaces and pictures visited by all, but of the schools and hospitals known only to the few, but which nevertheless form a not less important item in the yearly budget of the true Roman Patrician.

There is a stately grandeur about Roman charity which gives it a unique character. It is essentially aristocratic, the outcome of the generosity of the very rich towards the very poor, but it is none the less essentially Catholic, personal, and real. Each great family possesses some charitable institution of its own almost as much as a matter of course, just as it owns a private chapel or a picture-gallery. The Roman Patrician prefers to do his charities, like everything else, *en prince*. He has no leanings towards boards of management and lists of voluntary subscribers, and were he to be solicited for a subscription, even

for a most worthy object, it is more than probable that he would refuse his aid. The sacred duty of Christian charity would not appeal to him in that aspect. But what he will and does do, is to found and support charitable institutions as his own private property, to watch over them with personal zeal, and to take an innocent pride in christening them with his own name. Unless he can carry out a scheme in its entirety he prefers to leave it alone. It is interesting to remember, in this connection, that most of the old Roman families are Papal in origin, and it is perhaps from their founders on the throne of Peter that they have inherited the noble ambition to perpetuate their memory by some work of great and lasting beneficence, together with the amiable weakness—to which the monuments of mediæval Rome testify to-day—of putting up their coats-of-arms on the *façades* of whatever building they erect. Moreover, all the great families are, or at least have been, possessed of vast territorial possessions in thinly-populated country districts, where for centuries past every work of charity or of piety has been necessarily performed by the seigneur alone, for the excellent reason that there was never any one to share it with him. Thus, in the course of centuries, high traditions concerning the obligations of Christian charity have arisen and been maintained, and happily are still possessed of a certain binding force amongst the noble Romans of to-day. At the present time, the Doria and the Patrizi, the Aldobrandini and the Torlonia families—to quote but a few names among many—all possess schools or refuges as their own private property, the whole yearly maintenance of which is defrayed by them. Earlier in the century, the great Borghese family, now, alas, fallen upon evil days, outdistanced all others by the truly regal magnificence of its benefactions, benefactions that for the few short years of her married life were dispensed through the English hands of Lady Gwendolin Talbot. The young Princess Borghese indeed did all, and far more than all, that could have been demanded of her by the very best traditions of the rank that was hers both by birth and by marriage. Never did she delegate her duties to others. No labour, if done for Christ's poor, was too wearisome, no service too menial for her hands. The great family palace, now shorn of all its glories, stands surrounded by some of the poorest streets and lanes in the Eternal City, and it is said that the Princess Gwendolin was more intimately acquainted with the

poor of the district than even the parish priest himself. A tender and exquisite figure, rendered pathetic by her tragically early death—it is little wonder that she has become enshrined in the hearts of the Roman people as typical of all that is highest and purest in the aristocracy of their city, and that even to-day, after the lapse of over half a century, her name is uttered with a veneration that is only given as a rule to the saints and the beatified of the Church.

It is Trastevere that represents the "East End" of Rome, and it is to Trastevere we must go to see Rome at once at its poorest and its best. Perhaps it is the spirit of Santa Francesca Romana, hovering over the scenes of her own charitable labours, that makes the Transpontine quarter so fertile in philanthropic works. Certain it is there is something more to see there than the sights that attract the casual stranger. If, for instance, on leaving Santa Cecilia, he were to follow a narrow unprepossessing little street leading towards the Tiber, he would find himself ere long in front of the plain *façade* and low brick tower of an ancient little church in the rear of a small quadrangle. The church is Santa Maria in Cappella, now the private chapel of the *Istituto Doria*, a charity so perfect and so picturesque that Sta. Francesca herself might well have had a hand in the planning of it. I have rarely seen a more sunny, peaceful spot than the great square garden of the *Istituto*, a garden all planted with orange and lemon-trees, surrounded on three sides with whitewashed cloisters and low two-storied buildings, and on the fourth by the cloister alone, allowing of a free view across the river to the steep banks of the Aventine, with its noble crown of churches and cypresses. In the centre of the garden is a well and an old-fashioned circular tank, where girls might be seen chatting gaily over their washing. Old men bent stiff with age pottered about doing little jobs of hoeing and weeding; others, wrapt in warm cloaks, dozing away the afternoon in sunny corners; from time to time the white *cornette* of a Sister of Charity flitting quickly by, and from the open windows of the convent kitchen the clatter of utensils heard, and the glint seen of great shining coppers for the soups and stews of the establishment.

Here, in this favoured spot, under the prudent and kindly care of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, Prince Doria maintains one hundred old men and women. There is no limit as to age, no entrance-fee, no uniform to be worn by the inmates; the

Prince himself selects his guests—for guests indeed they are, and treated with all the consideration that guests have the right to expect—and from that moment their future is assured. Sometimes quite young people, if suffering from some incurable disease, are admitted to this haven of rest; sometimes even a destitute child is not turned away, but for the most part the inmates, both male and female, have come to spend their declining years. There is no compulsion as regards work, but the old men who are able, gladly take their turn at gardening and wood-chopping and water-carrying, and the old women make the beds and divide their afternoons between needlework and gossip. So, too, there is no compulsion as regards religious observances, but apparently the sceptical spirit that some would have us believe has sapped the faith of the whole Italian nation, is cast aside at the door of Santa Maria in Cappella, for all the old people gladly attend the daily Mass and join in the May devotions and the special Lenten retreat, and many of the old women are daily communicants. Upstairs, two long dormitories—the beds hung with blue and white curtains, a chair and a small cupboard between each—open out on either side of a tiny chapel, where Mass can be said for the invalids. By the men's dormitory is a large sunny *loggia*, where they sit and smoke. A more modern wing, overlooking the river, provides accommodation for the more delicate and decrepit of the women. Here, in large airy rooms, gay with pictures and flowers and flooded with sunshine, the old ladies spend their days propped up in arm-chairs. They are very placid and cheerful, quite ready for a chat, and full of that naive *bonhomie* which constitutes one of the charms of the Italian lower orders; but *ma sœur* confided in me—and her experience is in accord with that of the Superiors of all similar refuges—that the old women were apt to be far more *exigeantes* and far less grateful than the old men. Still they all thoroughly appreciate their good fortune as pensioners of the Prince, and as I wandered back to the entrance through their orange-scented garden, so simple, so homely, and yet so exquisitely beautiful, I could not refrain from contrasting it with the "yard," grimy, sunless, and treeless, in which the inmates of our metropolitan workhouses wander listlessly up and down during the allotted half-hour of their daily exercise. And I reflected that for generations past—although, thank Heaven, we are awakening at last to a different frame of mind—the workhouse has represented the British and

Protestant ideal of what is fit and suitable treatment for our aged poor! Verily, we have much to learn from our Continental—even from our Catholic—neighbours.

It is perhaps due to the indefatigable Sisters of Charity to add that, although the community at Santa Maria in Cappella only numbers some nine or ten members, the care of the *Istituto* proper by no means exhausts their energies. Besides the usual district visiting, they carry on a small day-school for the children of the neighbourhood, and they have converted a portion of their buildings into an excellent night-refuge for one hundred men, a work carried on under the auspices and at the expense of that most admirable and energetic body of young men, the *Circolo San Pietro*. Finally, they act as almoners to Queen Margherita, and in her name distribute daily doles of soup to one hundred destitute poor of the poverty-stricken Trastevere quarter.

On a yet larger scale than the *Istituto Doria*, and even more characteristically Roman, is the *Istituto Torlonia*, perhaps the most thoroughly delightful institution that I have ever had the pleasure of inspecting. Who does not remember the steep *salita* leading from the Porta San Spirito up to Sant' Onofrio, where the most exquisite of views over the Eternal City rewards the weary pilgrim? The greater portion of the long stretch of buildings on the right-hand side has been appropriated bit by bit by the Torlonia family as the ever-growing needs of their charitable undertakings have required it. If the reader asks what charitable work is carried on at the *Istituto*, I feel inclined to retort with the question what work is *not* carried on there? For in that vast and rambling building may be found, side by side, a training home and school for 60 orphans, girls' and infants' day-schools for 650 scholars, a public dispensary, an eye-hospital, with large out-patient department, operating-theatre, and wards for 20 in-patients, a hospice for 23 old women, and spacious class-rooms, oratory and dormitories for the *Œuvre du Dimanche*. And all this is as completely the private property of Prince and Princess Torlonia as their own palace, and the practical details of the management are supervised by them as minutely as those of their own household. The inspectors of a free-thinking Government are jealously excluded from schools and orphanage, and publicity of every sort is carefully avoided. Not a week passes that the Prince and his wife do not visit the institute; they are personally

acquainted with every orphan, every old woman, every invalid under the roof. They take an active interest in the placing out of the girls, providing their necessary outfits, and brightening the lives of all with constant gifts and acts of kindness. The charity is given not only scrupulously, but generously, and over the whole great building, with its gay blue-and-white tiled floors, its brightly tinted walls, its cheerful, well-lit rooms, there lies a pleasant air of homely prosperity as well as one of scrupulous cleanliness. The house was originally founded some fifty years ago by the Venerable Vincent Pallotti, but was taken over at a very early stage by the Torlonia family, both the uncle and the father of the present Princess devoting large sums to the development of the foundation. It passed, a few years ago, as sole heiress of her father, to the present Princess, whose husband, a member of the House of Borghese, has adopted his wife's name.

Of the many branches of this vast establishment it would be impossible to write with any fulness of detail within the limits of this article, but from the two long hours that, escorted by the most capable of Sister Superiors, I spent in inspecting it from cellar to garret, with the kind permission of the owners, I have retained some vivid brain-pictures, which it will always be a pleasure to me to recall.

Round a large square work-room sit some 30 little girls all under twelve years of age, pretty dark-haired Italian children, with well-cut features, clear olive complexions and dancing black eyes, all dressed in dainty white pinafores and adorned with blue ribbons. They are the younger orphans, and they are busy with fine sewing and the fascinating mysteries of pillow-lace, occupations which alternate with the usual school-course. In a neighbouring room are the elder girls, neat and attractive, in checked frocks and black aprons, bending over piles of delicate embroidery and fine lace and much-tucked material, most of which is destined for a *layette* for the Princess Torlonia's daughter. The work is admirably executed; the girls' working-hours are six a day, and as there is no pretence of supporting the orphanage by the proceeds of their industry, there is never any necessity for sacrificing quality to quantity, or working the girls for over-long hours. These girls are not, as a rule, destined for domestic service, as they would be in England, but on leaving each one is able to earn her own livelihood by the skill of her fingers. It is not, however, till

the age of twenty-one that they leave, and leave reluctantly, what to them is a real home. Those dangerous years from sixteen to twenty, through which all English girls brought up in orphanages have to pass unprotected, are spent by these Roman girls under safe guardianship. That they should voluntarily remain so long, and that they should even beg, in many cases, to be kept longer, is the best testimony to the moral influence under which they live. And here, too, I bethought myself of our district-schools in England, in which "workhouse temper" develops year by year so steadily among the youthful inmates, that it is not considered advisable, or even possible, to keep any girls over the age of fourteen. Italian girls are of course more naturally amenable to discipline than English, who, if more self-willed, are also more honest, but the difference in the *régime* pursued must in the main be credited with the difference in the results obtained.

Cool and silent and dim are the various rooms—wards, day-rooms, and refectory—in which the poor, half-blind patients, with bandaged brows, are either undergoing treatment for their eyes, or are awaiting the development of the right moment for undergoing the operation for cataract. And in a special dark room are two patients who have been operated on two days previously, and who are lying blindfolded and motionless, flat on their backs, for the five days that must elapse ere the bandages can be removed. A trained Sister is in charge, and another presides near by over the large out-patient department, where, three days a week, a specialist and his assistants attend, and prescribe on a daily average, for some 80 patients. And yet another trained Sister rules over the little spick-and-span pharmacy, where she mixes and doles out free medicines to the families of all the children who attend the schools, and to many more besides. Adjoining is a little kitchen where the *sœur pharmacienne* can prepare possets and soups for her invalids, and which, the day I passed through, was sweet with the fragrance of violets laid out on great trays to dry.

Of the day-schools, every standard accommodated in a separate, airy class-room, it would be impossible to speak too highly. For the infants the Froebel system is largely in use, and the little people were all accommodated, two and two, on the most approved of modern desks. Every appliance that educational science could invent seemed to be in use. Nor are the bodily needs of the little scholars neglected. Hot soup

is provided daily for all the children, in addition to whatever they may bring from home for their mid-day meal, which is partaken of in a large refectory. Playgrounds, too, there are, both for the day scholars and the orphans, and more extended exercise can be taken round the large, sunny kitchen-garden that stretches far in the rear of the buildings. In the girls' school the teachers are partly secular and partly Religious, and the usual Government curriculum, consisting of five courses, and intended to cover from the eighth to the fourteenth year, is followed. The hours sounded decidedly longer than those in English poor-schools, but it has to be remembered, as the Sister reminded me with a smile, that punctuality is not an Italian virtue. It is worth mentioning that the French Sisters are of opinion that Italian children are much more intelligent than French, but their education is sadly handicapped by the fact that compulsion is practically a dead letter in Italy, and cannot be enforced, according to the law, after the third standard is reached. As in the orphanage, so in the day-schools, every single child is provided by the Prince with a school uniform. I hesitated, as I passed through, as to whether the little girls, in their checked blue pinafores, or the little boys, in their red and black blouses, looked the prettiest, but when I came to the youngest class of all, some hundred infants of three and four, ranged tier above tier in a large class-room, and each clad in a snowy white pinafore, I felt it was to the babies I must award the palm. And by the time these same babies had sung me a little song in chirrupy little voices, waving chubby, brown hands in appropriate action, I had quite lost my heart to the Italian *bambini*.

I believe I lost it a second time when we arrived a little later to where the twenty-three old women were dozing away their days in quiet comfort, not in a single big ward, but in a series of small and cosy rooms where they could all feel at home. The old ladies were enchanted to have a visitor; they all kissed my hand, and addressed me as *Eccellenza*, with the effusive politeness that comes so easily to the Italian nation, and showed me with pride their refectory and their little private chapel, where Mass is celebrated for them every Sunday, and grew garrulous over the kindness and generosity of their benefactors.

Nor must I omit mention of the *Œuvre du Dimanche*, though, as my visit took place on a week-day, I could only be

shown the empty rooms. The object of the work is to keep in touch with the girls who have left either the schools or the orphanage, and who are enrolled in a confraternity that meets every Sunday at the convent. The girls may come on Saturday evening and sleep the night; a priest hears confessions and says Mass for them in the confraternity chapel on Sunday morning, and the rest of the day is devoted to classes, catechism, and amusements, ending up with Benediction. Over one hundred girls belong, and almost the entire number can be accommodated in the five large dormitories put aside for their use. The Sisters attach great importance to this branch of their work, which puts, as it were, a final seal on all that has gone before, and there can be no doubt that its spiritual effects must be very great. As an encouragement to perseverance, Prince Torlonia presents every year a new dress to every member of the confraternity, and many only leave on their marriage.

Many visitors to Rome well know, and therefore it is hardly necessary for me to dwell, on that most perfect of children's hospitals, the *Ospedale dal Bambino Gesù*, established not a stone's-throw from the Torlonia Institute, in the old Monastery of Sant' Onofrio, high above the city, where it enjoys all the breezes from the Janiculum. Owing to the indefatigable energy of the Duchess Salviati, it has become of late years one of the show charities of Rome. A children's hospital appeals to the most callous of hearts, and there are no lack of visitors, both Italian and foreign, to the large, airy wards, both for medical and surgical cases, in which two hundred children can be accommodated. With the light, distempered walls, the immaculate white cots and white bed-gowns of the little occupants, and the red-tiled floors, the general effect was one of exquisite coolness and cleanliness on a warm spring day, with streaks of hot sunshine penetrating here and there the closed green shutters. One arrangement struck me as particularly practical, and that was that every two wards were provided with separate day-rooms for the convalescent children, who could thus play about without disturbing their more suffering companions. And with each surgical ward there communicated a small room fitted with a high marble slab, where all the more serious cases could be dressed each morning out of sight of the other children.

At the hospital, as at the *Istituti* Doria and Torlonia, it is the white *cornettes* of the Sisters of Charity that reign supreme. There is a fashion in charity as in all things, and it is the

fashion among the Roman aristocracy to entrust their good works to the Daughters of St. Vincent de Paul, so that these latter possess no less than a dozen establishments in the Eternal City. Personally I had hoped to make the acquaintance of some distinctively Italian communities on my charitable rounds; it seemed to indicate a want of patriotic individuality to meet with the French Sisters at every turn, but, as a matter of fact, in organizing skill, in minuteness of practical economy, the Italian women are no match for their transalpine neighbours. Nor, indeed, would it be easy anywhere to find successful rivals in zeal, in capacity, in method, to the army of blue-gowned recruits of the Church that year by year are scattered over the whole world from that wonderful Novitiate in the Rue du Bac.

Somehow a certain indescribable home feeling pervades these Roman charities, a feeling the very opposite from that chill institution atmosphere with which we must all be familiar. The charity is the appanage of the home, and the home influence makes itself felt. Possibly the brilliant Roman sunshine flings a certain halo of beauty round the scene; possibly, too, the practical fact that in most cases old buildings have been adapted and enlarged, instead of brand-new buildings being erected, has something to do with the all-pervading charm. "What! an old, adapted building preferable to a new, specially-designed one?" I hear the practical philanthropist inquire, in horror-struck tones. Well, yes, it may be. The advantages of your special, barrack-like building, with its regulation cubic feet of air, its vast windows, its chilling uniformity, its all-pervading draughts, are so obvious, so positive, so glaring, that we have quite overlooked the tender aroma of home-life which we have ruthlessly banished in the interests of hygiene and discipline. There are some things even more important than these in life, though it requires some courage to say so in this materialistic age. It is the total lack of this intangible "home" quality which has made our barrack-schools, in which all the faults of a faulty system have been intensified, the ghastly failure which to-day at length they are admitted to be. Certainly nothing could be farther removed from a metropolitan barrack-school than the *Istituto Torlonia*, in spite of its hundreds of inmates, and yet I can well imagine a utilitarian guardian taking exception, and not without some cause, to the narrowness of some of the staircases, and to the extra labour laid upon the Sisters and attendants by the irregularity of the building plan.

But the Sisters themselves do not complain, for they are wise enough to know that there are things of greater value than mere domestic convenience, and that a utilitarian uniformity may sometimes be purchased at too high a price.

Regretfully, and with many tender memories, I take my leave of the Roman charitable world. In England our Catholic charities are for the most part so overshadowed by their more pretentious Protestant neighbours, and have to cope so painfully with paucity of means and makeshift arrangements, that they can hardly be fairly judged as representing the most perfect fruit of practical religion. In Rome, even in the fallen Rome of to-day, Catholic charity still flourishes here and there as on its native soil, and it is at once pleasant and helpful to turn our eyes from time to time towards these monuments of faith and of love which are as living witnesses to the teaching of Christ in our midst.

V. M. CRAWFORD.

The Modern Goth.

BY AN ANCIENT ROMAN.

(i.) A REPLY TO "MODERNUS."

[COMMUNICATED.]

AN article in the June number of THE MONTH on "The Ancient Roman, by Modernus," professes to be an answer to the article in the May number—"The Modern Goth, by an Ancient Roman."

Modernus rests his defence on an *alibi*. We agree with him that "an *alibi* is most satisfactorily made out when it is shown that the defendant was not even born at the date when the alleged crime was committed." We differ from him in holding that an *alibi*, if it is to be relevant as a defence, must have some real and direct relation of contradiction to the indictment. Modernus would have done well if he had perused and pondered the indictment until he had reduced it to a determinate issue, before he began to construct his *alibi*.

The indictment, as framed by the Ancient Roman, charges the Modern Goth with the stripping of altars and tabernacles of the vestments and canopies which have been deliberately, and with much minuteness, prescribed for them by the liturgical law of the Catholic Church. It charges him also with misdemeanours, such as the profanation of altars, which have been solemnly consecrated for the Sacrifice of the Mass, by utilizing them as flower-stands and shelves for candlesticks—a misdemeanour which has been strictly forbidden by liturgical law.

The indictment by the Ancient Roman does not, anywhere within the four corners of it, charge the Modern Goth either with being the first sinner in this matter, or with being the inventor of the sin. It charges him simply with the sin itself.

It follows that to prove that the birth of the Modern Goth "cannot well be fixed earlier than A.D. 1830" is not to traverse the indictment.

The indictment does not affirm, and so cannot be "held to lead us [Modernus and his clients] to suppose" that previous to "the advent of that man of sin [the title is given to him facetiously by Modernus], Augustus Welby Pugin, in 1830," the prescriptions of liturgical law were carried out in "the poor barn-like structures where Catholics worshipped in the three kingdoms"—or that "his lawless progeny, the Modern Goths, in 1830, swept all these things away."

During the long years of persecution of the Catholic Church in England, it was as much as Catholics here could do to provide the bare essentials of Catholic worship. It is in no way to their discredit that they were unable to furnish their churches as their forefathers in the faith had furnished them before the radical revolution in religion which is known as the Reformation. Furthermore, the descendants of the confessors of the ancient faith ought not to be blamed because they did not at once, after the persecution had passed away, set about furnishing their churches and chapels in strict accordance with liturgical law. They were well content to be able to hear Mass without peril to body or estate, and they had become accustomed to the absence of many of the decencies of Divine worship, of which persecution and poverty had deprived them.

Then came Pugin, and the Modern Goths, and Modernus tells us that "what the Gothic revival really did in England was to give Catholics some idea of the glory and wealth, and also of the law and order, which it is desirable should be in God's house."

Here it is that for the first time we find the defence in touch with the indictment.

The Gothic revivalists took upon themselves the task of educating the English Catholics of their day in ecclesiastical architecture and church furnishing. It might have been reasonably expected of them that they should have made themselves masters not only of the ancient liturgical practice before the Reformation, but also of the existing liturgical law. That the ancient practice in England was to clothe the altar while Mass was being said, we have maintained as proved by the irrefragable evidence of the lists which are extant of the spoils of churches looted in England by the church-robbers of the sixteenth century, in which we find constant mention of altar-frontals of various colours, in accordance with the season.

The existing liturgical law which prescribes the clothing of altars and tabernacles, was staring the Gothic revivalists in the face in books and documents which they must have had under their eyes, such as the Roman Ritual, the Ceremonial of Bishops, and the General Rubrics of the Missal, to say nothing of the Decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites.

In spite of all this, the Modern Goths constructed altars which, from the very design of them, were obviously intended not to be clothed; and crested tabernacles with pinnacles, or otherwise made them of such a shape as rendered the placing on them of the prescribed canopy almost an impossibility.

This forms one foundation of the charge made in the indictment of the Modern Goths by the Ancient Roman, that in their picking and choosing among the directions of the Church, and in thus following their own private judgment and self-will, they displayed their Protestant inclinations in the matter of church furnishing, and were in the sphere of architecture of that type of nineteenth century Protestant which in the sphere of ceremonial goes by the name of Ritualist.

Against this charge the *alibi* of Modernus is incoherent, and irrelevant as a defence.

It will be convenient to notice now another shift to which Modernus has been reduced in the absence of any law which he can produce to set against the law which his clients are accused of breaking. He tries to discredit their accuser by insinuating that his accusation is an intrusion into the domain of the Bishops.

If this suggestion of impertinence had any solid weight, it would be still more unbecoming for any one who is not a Bishop to write not a mere article, but a book on the subject of liturgical law, and to note in it the divergence between that law and practices which had become not uncommon in a particular country.

In that case we should not have had the work of Mgr. Barbier de Montault, *Traité Pratique de la Construction, de l'ameublement, et de la Decoration des Églises, selon les règles canoniques et les traditions Romaines*. If Modernus is in the right, that book ought never to have been written. Mgr. de Montault is indeed a Domestic Prelate and a Referendary of the Segnatura, but he is not a Bishop, not even *in partibus infidelium*. His work is nevertheless dedicated to the Bishop of

Agen. The Introduction to it, moreover, contains the following passage: "Le clergé, depuis bien longtemps, s'est trop désintéressé de ces questions qui le touchent pourtant de si près et qui ont tant d'affinité avec le culte catholique. Qu'il reprenne donc la place qu'il n'aurait jamais dû abandonner et que désormais, au lieu de suivre, il soit à la tête; qu'au lieu d'écouter, il enseigne; qu'au lieu d'empêcher le mal, il pousse au bien de toutes ses forces, et qu'il ne mérite plus cette accusation, trop justement portée contre son inertie et son ignorance: 'Comment peut-on accuser l'architecte laïque, quand l'architecte-prêtre se montre encore plus inintelligent et profane?'"

This writer, who is not a Bishop, goes on to say that he addresses himself to the whole of the clergy, and above all to seminarists, with whom there lies the hope of regeneration through science, and to parish priests and other rectors, because to them the fate of churches has been confided.

The Ancient Roman refrained in his article on the Modern Goth from any words like these, which might possibly be woven by a hostile critic into an insinuation of intrusion into the domain of the Bishops, such as is made by Modernus when he says: "We will be the first to submit to the Ancient Roman when he writes, *Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratiâ*." The writer was still more careful. He positively disclaimed all imputation of subjective guilt to those whom he charged with the objective breaches of liturgical law of which he treats. His words were: "We are not now concerned with questions of moral theology, or measuring the moral guilt, if any, of those who contravene precepts of liturgical law."

In making his insinuation to discredit the accuser of his clients, Modernus is speaking to the gallery. This may account for his quoting Greek. Sonorous words in an unknown tongue are effective in that quarter of the court on which he was keeping at least one eye. So far as defence of the Modern Goth is concerned, the insinuation of Modernus may now follow his *alibi* and vanish into space.

Having disposed of two preliminary pleas, we come to the one preemptory plea on which Modernus relies for his defence of the strippers of altars and tabernacles of the clothing prescribed for them by liturgical law. Modernus pleads *custom*. He says that the Ancient Roman "appeals to rubrics and

printed directions. *We* appeal to modern practice and the connivance of ecclesiastical authority."

If Modernus could sustain his plea of *custom*, it would without doubt be a very valid defence. Custom has force of law—custom is the best interpreter of law—and custom avails to abrogate law.

But there are customs and customs. It is not every alleged custom that can pass muster as a true and valid custom. Concurrence of several conditions is required in order to constitute a true custom. Among these conditions is consent on the part of the lawgiver, whose law the custom modifies. If the subjects of the lawgiver, or the greater part of them, continue, for the time required for the formation of a custom, in a reasonable usage which is at variance with a previous law of his, with his knowledge and without reclamation on his part, his "connivance," to use the phrase of Modernus, will be sufficient, so far as consent of the lawgiver is concerned, to constitute that usage a custom which has force of law, and which therefore has force to abrogate a previous law of the same lawgiver. Take the case, for instance, of a diocesan law. If this law is ignored in practice throughout the diocese, or the greater part of it, for the requisite time, and with the knowledge of the Bishop, who meantime does nothing to enforce his law, his "connivance" at the breach of his own law will be equivalent to that consent which is known as *legal* or *juridical* consent, and which is the only consent necessary to the existence of a true and valid custom. The local law in question, whether Episcopal or Synodical, will be in desuetude.

But is Modernus prepared to maintain that in the case of *universal* liturgical law, a local Bishop is the lawgiver? Will Modernus venture to argue that a Bishop's "connivance" is in the case of *universal* law all that is required by way of consent of the lawgiver?

Further, as concerns the case in question, what will Modernus oppose to such declarations of the Sacred Congregation of Rites as the following: "Customs contrary to the *Rubrics of the Missal* are declared to be abuses and corruptions." "A custom which is ancient and *in conformity with the Cæremoniale* is to be observed." (See Gardellini, of whom presently.) "Decrees which emanate from the *Sacred Congregation of Rites* have the same authority as if they proceeded immediately from

the Supreme Pontiff himself, even if no reference has been made of them to His Holiness." (May 23, 1846.) "No *inveterate* custom to the contrary whatsoever can *derogate* from the law laid down by the decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites." (August 3, 1839.) "The decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites derogate from *every contrary custom* whatsoever, even if it is *immemorial*; and they bind in conscience." (September 11, 1847.) "The decrees and answers of the Sacred Congregation of Rites inserted in the authentic collection of Gardellini are to be held as *formiter edita*" (September 6, 1854); and "Decrees which are not contained therein, but are shown to be authentic, have the same authority when they are not opposed to later decrees in that collection." (December 10, 1870.)

These declarations with regard to three sources of universal liturgical law, namely, the General Rubrics of the Missal, the prescriptions of the *Cæremoniale Episcoporum*, and the precepts of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, on which we founded our article, "The Modern Goth," we have selected for the sake of the dates of them. They are rather too recent to be classed among "forgotten rules of law or rubrics," or among "lapsing or lapsed enactments." We shall be curious to hear from Modernus if he still persists in calling the Ancient Roman an "*antiquated Rubrician*."

Lest, however, any shadow of doubt should remain in the mind of Modernus with regard to the modernity of the law which prescribes a canopy for the tabernacle, we shall quote a passage from a still more modern authority. Mgr. Zitelli, a Domestic Prelate, a Doctor of Divinity, a Doctor of both Civil and Canon Law, and an official of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, is the author of the *Apparatus Juris Ecclesiastici*, "in accordance with the most recent resolutions of the Roman Congregations, for the use of Bishops and priests." The second edition bears the *Imprimatur* of the Master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace, is published at Rome, and is dated 1888. Modernus will find it therein laid down, on page 91, as part of the matter of inquiry at an Episcopal visitation: "Is the Sacrament of the Eucharist reserved in a tabernacle, the exterior of which is becoming, and covered with a canopy, also becoming, and of a colour which is congruous to the rite, and is the interior of the tabernacle lined all round with silk?"

Modernus seems to assume that there are Bishops who do not make this inquiry. He says: "Bishops have eyes, Bishops are conscious, Bishops make visitations, and the thing remains undone." We would suggest to him that there may be several reasons, and sufficient reasons, other than that of their approbation, why the thing remains in many cases undone. We might, while refraining from his vigorous language about subjects being "vexed and stung to madness," go even so far in agreement with him as to say that we should be unfeignedly sorry if a Bishop were to resort to the drastic remedy of a sudden order that every altar and tabernacle within his diocese should forthwith be clothed and canopied, as the precepts of universal liturgical law direct. In many missions here in England such an order could not possibly, even with the best will in the world, be carried out, and that even if poverty were the only obstacle. We know a Bishop who would eagerly enforce the law in this matter, the breach of which he puts down to ignorance and *inertia*, but he says that he cannot see his way to do that which he would like to do, and is meantime striving to secure cleanliness, and in too many cases cannot get it.

It is one thing to say that a Bishop is bound at all costs to enforce some particular precept of universal liturgical law. This we have never said, and should never dream of saying. To say so would be a grave impertinence.

It is quite another thing to say that the furnishers of churches are not bound to wait, and that there is no solid reason why they should wait, until their Bishop actually enforces some precept of universal liturgical law, before they carry that precept out in practice. This is all that we have said, and this we maintain.

Modernus says: "Till the Bishop puts out his hand to bind, clergy and people remain in the liberty that time and usage has conferred upon them."

We say: Till the Bishop puts out his hand to bind his subjects to strip their altars and their tabernacles, church furnishers remain in their liberty to clothe them in accordance with universal liturgical law.

There are two points on which Modernus says that he is happy to agree with the Ancient Roman. The first is with regard to the position and size of the crucifix. The second is with regard to the *mensa* or table of the altar, which he would

be glad to keep clear at all times of candlesticks and flowers. The agreement between us is, however, on the surface only. We differ in our underlying motives. Modernus would have the crucifix large and standing conspicuous among the candles, because "the people love to see it there." We would have the crucifix of the same material and pattern as the candlesticks, and standing on a line with them, between them, and *supereminens* above them—simply because liturgical law has so ordained it.

Modernus would have the *mensa* of the altar clear of candlesticks and flowers, because "it is an obvious convenience during Mass, and at Benediction it is no hindrance to the beauty with which that rite should be graced." We would have the *mensa* of the altar kept sacred for sacrifice, simply because the placing of candlesticks upon it is forbidden both by universal law, and by the particular law of the *Ritus servandus*, which bears the *Imprimatur* of three successive English Cardinals, and has the preceptive sanction, as of strict obligation, of an English Provincial Synod.

On the subject of flowers, Modernus says that the Ancient Roman "proceeds to babble, if not of green fields, like the dying Falstaff, yet of greenhouses, 'the chapel being turned into a greenhouse.'" Given that this is babbling, the babbler is the Sacred Congregation of Rites, which forbids the chapel in which the Altar of Repose is erected being turned into a *viridarium* or greenhouse. The decrees of this Congregation are held as being oracles of the Supreme Pontiff.

Modernus suggests that the words *flosculi in vasculis*, which the Ancient Roman translates "small flowers in small vases," should be translated "pretty flowers in pretty vases." This is of a piece with some other Modern Gothic translations, in practice, of Latin words of liturgical law. *Campanula*, a little bell, is not seldom practically translated by the Modern Goths into—a large gong; and *pannus vel tapes viridis*, a green cloth or carpet, into the *red* carpet with which most of them cover the sanctuary floor.

These things may seem to be mere trifles, but the Church does not reckon those details to be trifles, about which she legislates, and no matter, however small, can be a trifle, when it concerns the furnishing of God's house, and her lodging of her Lord.

All such legislation seems to have an irritating influence on the Modern Goth. Gardellini's Collection of Decrees is regarded by him very much as if it were a foreign Bradshaw out of date, useful, possibly, to foreigners in days bygone, but of small service or concern to Englishmen since the dawn of the Gothic Revival.

Modernus has in his article done his level best on behalf of his clients. He has given us a climax in Greek, an Aristotelian rule, a phrase of Jeremy Bentham's about question-begging appellatives, a quotation from Shakespeare, and a familiar passage from the *Secunda Secundæ* of St. Thomas—much learning, but not one word of liturgical law. He has also, and to our surprise, worked himself up, in his closing sentence, into imagining that we of all people regard the altars of the middle ages as models for us, and would advocate return to reservation of the Blessed Sacrament in a dove suspended over the altar, or in a sacrament-house or aumbry let into the north wall of the sanctuary—all which we abominate as forbidden by modern liturgical law. This is rather a riotous turning of the tables.

In spite of all that Modernus has said we must insist in our contention that our quarrel is with the Modern Goths or Gothic Revivalists, the men and the imitators of the men who set themselves, "'tis sixty years since," to teach English Catholics, when they were emerging from the obscurity to which persecution had condemned them, the way in which they ought to build and furnish their churches and chapels. Modernus says that "what the Gothic revival really did in England was to give Catholics some idea of the glory and wealth, and also of *the law and order* which it is desirable should be in God's house." He says also, and as if revelling in the thought, that "the tide and swirl of custom is everywhere fretting away existing positive enactments, altering their application and their applicability."

Shade of King Jamie! it is as grand to hear this advocate of these jerry-builders of baseless customs discoursing of "law and order," as it was grand for Your Highness three centuries ago to hear "Baby Charles laying down the guilt of dissimulation, and Steenie lecturing on the turpitude of incontinence."

(ii.) UNRUBRICAL ALTARS.

Our readers will have perused with interest the attack, the reply, and the rejoinder dealing with the "Modern Goth" and his ways, published as communicated articles in recent numbers of THE MONTH. The subject is confessedly one which touches upon the domain of ecclesiastical discipline, and in which no private doctor can claim to speak with authority. Those who have read the articles in question will have already formed their own opinion of the merits of the case, and with the Ancient Roman's rejoinder, published in our present number, the controversy may be considered closed.

None the less, while the interest of the subject is still fresh, we are tempted to offer a few remarks representing the position of THE MONTH itself, not so much to sum up as to supplement the view of the case already presented. We make no pretence to hold the balance between Modernus and his opponent. Our sympathies, we confess, are wholly and entirely upon the side of the former. But while Modernus has hardly troubled himself to challenge the Ancient Roman's statement of rubrical law, it seems to us that the said Ancient Roman has hazarded many assertions as to what we may call the historical and documentary aspect of the question, which are too important to be allowed to pass without further comment. We trust to advance nothing ourselves for which we do not give adequate references, and we will try to draw a sharp distinction between things which are matters of fact and those which are merely matters of inference.

Let us begin by recalling what the Ancient Roman has said on the subject of the *Cærimoniale Episcoporum*. "The *Cærimoniale*," he tells us, "has the force of law, and while binding primarily on cathedral and collegiate churches, is binding secondarily but equally as regards all matters which concern them, in all churches whatsoever, and even in churches of Regulars, unless these can produce a privilege from the Apostolic See which exempts them by way of derogation from universal law." Our Rubrician, we take it, will readily admit that this same *Cærimoniale* is our primary authority in all the matters which he is discussing. It is true that he names the General Rubrics of the Missal in the first place, but the refer-

ence in these to the altar and its furniture are of the briefest possible description, while from the *Rituale* we learn still less. Apart, therefore, from a few decisions of the Congregation of Sacred Rites, given only in answer to some appeal or doubt, we are referred back in almost every case to the *Cæremoniale Episcoporum*. Now what, it is reasonable to ask, is the nature and origin of this much-quoted authority?

The *Cæremoniale* is a document which was drawn up in its present shape in the year 1600, and which was issued with the highest ecclesiastical sanction, to supplement the *Pontificale* as an official-directory and order-book for the ceremonies in which a Bishop takes part. Although Clement VIII., in the Bull approving it, describes it as "omnibus ecclesiis, præcipue autem metropolitanis, cathedralibus et collegiatis, perutile ac necessarium," it is essentially a book for Bishops and the Bishop's retinue of attendants. It will hardly be maintained that it is addressed to the clergy at large. If all the directions which prescribe any general law for churches apart from the Bishop's presence were collected together, they would not amount to more than two or three pages. Moreover, nearly all the references to the matter we are concerned with are to be found in a single one of its eighty chapters, a chapter which treats *ex professo* of the adornment of the church for Pontifical Mass on the more solemn feasts, and in which, as it were by accident and *præter intentionem*, a very few words are thrown in about the furnishing of altars, &c., when the Bishop is not pontificating, and on days which are not great feasts. A revision of the *Cæremoniale* was ordered under Benedict XIII., but none but unimportant verbal changes were introduced, and no attempt was made to modify the prescriptions which even then had fallen into disuse, both in the Church at large and in the Basilicas of Rome itself.

Now, we mention these facts, not to deny that the *Cæremoniale* still retains force of law in regulating Pontifical functions and in those things in which no desuetude can be pleaded, but rather to indicate that the Church regards these questions of church ornamentation as subsidiary matters which she does not care to insist upon directly, but is willing for the most part to leave to the pastoral watchfulness of the Bishops, and to the good sense of the clergy and the faithful. Instead of speaking loudly and authoritatively, as she might do by some code of regulations to be inserted in every single copy of the

Missal,¹ she throws out a few scattered hints in a book destined for an entirely different purpose, a book which will certainly never be studied, or even opened, by the vast majority of the clergy. What is more significant still, she suffers this book to be reprinted again and again in the same form, although certain portions of it, and notably those which are said to contain such important rules for the adornment of churches, abound in directions which the most extreme advocates of the Roman tradition admit to be completely obsolete. Let us set down here a few of the provisions of this same twelfth chapter of the First Book of the *Ceremoniale*, to which the Ancient Roman so constantly refers; and let it be remembered that all these various directions are, upon his theory, just as much the "universal law of the Church" as those which *he* thinks well to "pick and choose" as suitable missiles to fling at the head of the Modern Goth.

1. On the more solemn feasts the church doors are to be decorated on the outside with flowers, branches, green boughs, tinsel, and festoons; if the church have a portico, it is to be draped with hangings of silk or leather. (§§ 3 and 4.)

2. Over the door itself a picture of the Saint is to be set up with similar ornaments, and the arms of the Bishop or the Pope. (§ 3.)

3. The walls of the church itself should, if possible, be draped with hangings, and the tribunes with silk curtains of the colour of the day. (§ 5.)

4. It is most desirable that the Blessed Sacrament should not be kept at the altar at which the Bishop or *any other priest* is solemnly to sing Mass or Vespers. If the Blessed Sacrament chance to be reserved at the high altar, It must on such occasions by all means be transferred to some other altar (*ab eo altari in aliud omnino transferendum est*). (§ 8.)

5. If, notwithstanding this, the Blessed Sacrament should ever be reserved at the high altar during a function, the Bishop or celebrant and all others present are not to sit down, but to remain standing throughout the entire ceremony; and the Bishop is not to put on his mitre, nor the clergy to wear birettas. (§ 9.)

¹ There are, for instance, a certain number of decrees of the Congregation of Rites printed at the beginning of every Missal by command of various Popes, referring to several miscellaneous topics of which it is difficult to understand the special importance.

6. It is most fitting (*non incongruum sed maxime decens*) that no Masses, High or Low, should ever be said at the altar at which the Blessed Sacrament is reserved. If this ever be done, the same genuflexions must be made as if the Blessed Sacrament were exposed. (§ 9.)¹

7. The silk hangings at the Bishop's throne should vary according to the colour of the day. (§ 10.)

8. The *pallium altaris*, i.e., the antependium or altar frontal, is to be continued right round the altar, back and front, whenever the altar is not attached to the wall. (§ 11.)

9. The six candlesticks² upon the altar should not be of the same height. (§ 11.)

10. The drapery of the baldacchino is to be changed according to the colour of the day. (§ 13.)

11. The Missal and the Book of Epistles and Gospels are to be wrapped in silk coverings of the colour of the day. (§ 15.)

12. The steps of the altar are to be spread with a large and rich carpet (*amplo et pulchro tapete*), in order that they may stand out from the rest of the sanctuary, which is to be covered with green cloths³ (*pannis viridibus*). (§ 16.)

13. All the other altars of the church are equally to have antependia of the colour of the day. (§ 16.)

14. There should be lamp-holders (*lampadarii*), each sustaining several lamps, to hang before the high altar and the altar of the Blessed Sacrament. Before the high altar there should be at least three lamps, and before the altar of the Blessed Sacrament at least five. (§ 17.)

15. The pulpit and ambos, if any, are to be decorated with silk hangings of the colour of the day. (§ 18.)

¹ We are not here quoting the exact words of § 9, but any one who reads that paragraph carefully will see that no other meaning can be attached to it but that which we have assigned. Moreover, Catalani's commentary plainly interprets it in this sense.

² The Ancient Roman tells us that "the lights are not to be on one level" (p. 115). The *Ceremoniale* says that the *candelabra* (candlesticks) are not to be of the same height, and that this is the meaning is shown both by the engravings in the old *Ceremonialia*, where the candlesticks themselves are always of different sizes, and by a question asked of and answered by the Cong. SS. Rituum, 21 July, 1855. Cf. also the *Commentary* by Catalani, vol. i. p. 183.

³ This and a similar direction in § 10 is, as far as we know, the sole foundation for the assertion made by the Ancient Roman and others, that green is the only colour allowed for an altar carpet. It would be just as reasonable to infer that it was forbidden to have carpets in the sanctuary at all except upon the altar-steps, because the *Ceremonial* distinguishes between the *tapes* on the altar-steps and the *panni virides* in the sanctuary.

16. The linen cloth which covers the credence-table should hang to the ground all round, and the acolytes' candlesticks upon it should be of the same size and pattern as the smallest of the altar candlesticks. (§ 19.)

17. An official should be appointed to look after the cleanliness of the sacred edifice, and to prevent "beggars, dogs, and other animals" from running about the church and causing confusion. (§ 25.)

These are a few of the things which the hard-worked parish priest, if he takes the Ancient Roman's advice and reads through this chapter of the *Cæremoniale*, will find, probably to his surprise, to be part of the "law of the Church," and binding upon him to carry out in their integrity, upon pain of being reputed a "picker and chooser," and in fact little better than a Protestant, if he goes on in the old ways. Since we are upon this subject we venture to add one or two other prescriptions of the *Cæremoniale*, equally the "law of the Church," and of universal obligation, but taken from another chapter on music and the use of the organ.

The organ, we learn, is to be played alternately (with the singing) during the *Kyrie Eleison*, the *Gloria*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus Dei*. Also it is played at the beginning of Mass, at the end of the Epistle, at the moment of the Elevation of the Blessed Sacrament—though in a more solemn and sweeter tone, at the Communion, and after the end of Mass.¹

During the *Credo*, the organ is not to be played, but the words are to be sung by the choir in a chant which will be readily intelligible.² At Vespers and Benediction the organ is not to be played during the *Gloria Patri* of the Psalms, or the first verse of the *Tantum ergo*.

All these precepts, be it observed, stand on exactly the same footing, and there is nothing to indicate that they are in the least bit less important than the regulations which prohibit the organ during Lent and in Masses for the dead.

¹ Bk. i. ch. 28, § 9.

² Catalani's comment on this section runs: "Sed hæc disciplina, sicut et alii multi sanctissimi Ecclesiæ ritus minime servantur, ex quo figuratus eunuchorum cantus una cum instrumentis musicis in Ecclesiam introductus est." And this in a book describing Roman usage, published in Rome, and dedicated to Pope Benedict XIV. We are strongly tempted to quote further from Catalani's comments on Roman Church music in the eighteenth century, but for edification sake we forbear.

Now what, we wonder, will be the feeling of the parish priest, or other responsible person, when first he finds himself confronted in the *Cæremoniale Episcoporum* with these "precepts of liturgical law"? Surely he is justified in assuming that some at least of these ordinances have fallen into desuetude. In all his life he has never known, or even heard, of a church in which the organ was not played during the *Credo*, or in which the celebrant did not sit down during the *Gloria*, or in which it was considered wrong to say a Low Mass at the altar of the Blessed Sacrament, or in which the six candlesticks on the altar were of different sizes, or in which the hangings of the *baldacchino* changed with the colour of the day. How is he to decide which of these precepts still bind, and which are obsolete? He cannot afford a journey to Rome to investigate for himself the practice of the Mother Church of Christendom, and he finds that the accounts given by his friends of what they have seen there contradict one another flagrantly in almost every particular. He would gladly acquire Gardellini's collection of decrees; but no library that he is acquainted with possesses a copy with all the supplements complete to date; and even if the price were not prohibitive,¹ he finds that in very truth an antiquated foreign Bradshaw, to use the Ancient Roman's simile, is clearness itself in comparison. He turns in despair to some approved liturgical compendium, say Wapelhorst, a work which has gone through five editions in less than ten years, and is commended by twenty different Bishops. Here he learns that nobody can tell whether the use of the *baldacchino* has fallen into desuetude or not, that the Provincial Council of Baltimore prescribes a canopy for the tabernacle in the United States without any qualification, that for a tomb-shaped altar no frontal is required, and so on; while other no less highly-recommended Manuals, such as those of Hartmann,² or Lerosey,³ in many of these, or similar matters,

¹ The one collection of decrees of the Congregation of Sacred Rites which has any pretensions to be methodical, and which is really useful for practical purposes—we mean that edited by Mühlbauer—seems to be unknown to the Ancient Roman. Unfortunately, the seven volumes of this work, when bound, cost nearly £10, and though the last portions were issued in 1886 or 1887, even this is beginning to be out of date.

² *Repertorium Rituum, übersichtliche Zusammenstellung bei wichtigsten Ritualvorschriften*, pp. 892, Fifth Edition, 1886. In the long section devoted to altar furniture this work, as far as we can see, does not mention the fixed *baldacchino*. The author also seems to consider that the precept of the canopy can only apply to tabernacles where a proper canopy is practicable.

³ *Manuel Liturgique à l'usage de Saint-Sulpice*, 1889. In this the Abbé Lerosey, after citing the decrees of the Congregation of Sacred Rites of July 21st, 1855, and

express a different opinion. What, then, is our parish priest to do? It is, as far as we can see, precisely because he does not wish to pick and choose for himself among the ordinances of ecclesiastical authority, that he remains content to do as his neighbours do—to accept those usages which are before the eyes of all, and which continue unproved through many successive episcopal visitations, and to express heartily and sincerely his readiness to conform to any ordinance of the Holy See, or the Congregation of Sacred Rites, which is brought to his notice in such a way that he can have no doubt of the intention of the lawgiver. Are we to blame him because he regards the indictment of the Ancient Roman as a piece of special pleading, and the outcome of a particularly objectionable—objectionable because aggressive—kind of ecclesiastical fad?

To come back once more to definite details, it may be said that, speaking roughly, the topics dealt with in this anti-Gothic diatribe may be reduced to four: (1) "ornaments of the altar," a phrase which the Ancient Roman italicizes; (2) tabernacles; (3) altar frontals; (4) *baldacchinos*. Let us say a few words on each of these in order.

Of the crucifix and candlesticks, "the prescribed ornaments of the altar," we should not have thought it worth while to speak historically, were it not that the Ancient Roman, both in his original indictment and in his rejoinder, goes out of his way to represent his view as being in general a return to ancient usage. He does not indeed state formally that mediæval altars were decorated with crucifix and candlesticks, but most of his readers will infer that this detail goes with the rest. To many, therefore, it may be a matter of surprise to learn that for at least thirteen hundred years there was no common practice of employing candlesticks and crucifixes as we use them now, and that for a good two centuries after that there was still the greatest possible diversity of usage. To quote the words of a competent authority:

Down to the ninth century we find no ornament of any sort upon the altar; it was only in the tenth that crosses were first placed there.

April 28th, 1866, and declaring that the rubric requiring a canopy for the tabernacle binds in conscience and "n'est pas seulement directive;" goes on to say: "On est dispensé de couvrir d'un conopée un tabernacle richement décoré et précieux par son ornementation, ses dorures et ses pierreries." (p. 86.) We do not presume either to approve or to blame this mitigation of the decree by the Saint-Sulpice professor. We only ask who is to decide whether the decrees of the Congregation do, or do not, mean exactly what their wording expresses? The only answer can be custom, the custom engendered by the action of the guardians of the law, the Bishops.

Neither candlesticks nor crosses were ever left permanently upon the altars until the fourteenth century. When the priest went to say Mass, two acolytes took torches with them, and the celebrant a crucifix; these they set down upon the altar, and when the service was over they took them all back to the sacristy.¹

The most probable explanation of the origin of the six candlesticks, now commonly seen upon the high altar and required by the *Cæremoniale*, is to be found in the practice attested even by the earliest of the *Ordines Romani*,² of escorting the Pope to the altar with seven torches whenever he performed any sacred function. The episcopal ceremonial was modelled upon that of the Court of Rome, and for that reason we find seven candles still lighted upon the altar when a Bishop pontificates. In the absence of the Bishop from any of the more solemn functions one candle was probably withdrawn, so that the altar was left with six. We do not advance this as a certain, but only as a reasonably probable conclusion.³ In any case we should be interested to hear what evidence the Ancient Roman would offer for his calm assertion that the candles are there to do honour to the cross in the middle. "Shade of King Jamie!" to quote the eloquent apostrophe which concludes the Ancient Roman's last lucubration, it is certainly grand, for any one who knows anything of the religious customs of other days, to hear this assailant of the Goths, in his assumed character of the champion of venerable antiquity, lecturing on the turpitude of toy crucifixes. We can hardly suppose him to be aware that in the middle ages nothing but a toy, dwarf or pocket crucifix was ever used in the celebration of a Low Mass. It was made in that size precisely because the priest himself carried it to the altar with the chalice, and we know from extant specimens that the total height rarely exceeded six or seven inches.⁴

Hardly less grotesque, as it seems to us, are the views propounded by the Ancient Roman about the prominence due to the prescribed ornaments of the altar. Lest he should accuse us of being entangled in our own archaism, we will judge him by the standard of his own authoritative *Cæremoniale*.

¹ Labarte, *Description de la Collection Debruge Dumenil*, p. 26.

² Cf. Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 441.

³ Cf. Thalhofer, *Liturgik*, vol. i. p. 668.

⁴ Cf. an article in the *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 1886, on "Les Croix à Main du Diocèse de Poitiers," pp. 33-45.

We have not [says the Ancient Roman] one word to say against a reredos, but we do maintain that it should be kept subordinate to the prescribed *ornaments* of the altar. These ornaments are the crucifix and candlesticks, and they ought to stand out and strike the eye. For this reason the background or wall-space behind these ornaments should be plain and simple, neither broken up with arches or pillars into compartments, nor glittering with gilding. A bright background will render undistinguishable at a distance the crucifix and candlesticks, which are the proper and prescribed ornaments of the altar, and those ornaments which of all its furniture ought to be the most prominent and conspicuous.

We should be sorry to retort upon the Ancient Roman the charge of constructive heresy which he is so ready to level at his antagonists. None the less, we must say that his insistence upon cross and candlesticks as "the proper and prescribed ornaments of the altar," to the apparent exclusion of other decorations, has a distinctly un-Catholic ring about it. Is he acquainted with the clause in the Constitution, *Auctorem Fidei*, of Pius VI., censuring a proposition of the Synod of Pistoia? "Item præscriptio vetans ne super altaria thecæ sacrarum reliquiarum floresve apponantur, temeraria, pio et probato ecclesiæ mori injuriosa."¹ If it is a "pious and approved custom of the Church to place flowers upon the altar (*super altare*)," and if the *gradino*, as he admits, is a modern development,² the language used about "the profanation of the altar of sacrifice in the using it as a shelf for flowers and candles,"³ smacks much more of the spirit of the schismatics of Pistoia, than of the reverence to be expected of a devout son of the Church. But this is by the way.

We have said above, that the directions of the *Cæremoniale* are primarily intended for the greater festivals, and that it is only indirectly and accidentally that we derive from it any guidance for the arrangements at ordinary seasons. Taking then the elaborate description given of the altar ornaments in chapter xii. of the first book, we are far from remarking any desire to make the crucifix and candles so exceptionally prominent. Anything more likely to distract and confuse the

¹ Cf. Arnold Rütter, *Die Pflanzenwelt als Schmuck des Heiligthumes und Fronleichnamsfestes* (1886), p. 15. These words of Pius VI. certainly make it clear that a vase of flowers *pertinet ad ornatum altaris*. If that is so, we see nothing in the *Rubricæ Generales Misalis* which forbids us to place flowers even upon the table of the altar.

² P. 103.

³ P. 109.

eye of the worshipper could hardly be found than what is there prescribed. All along the lower part of the altar and over the antependium there are to be *fasciæ*,¹ which we may perhaps translate *flounces*, "elaborately worked in varying patterns out of gold and silk, by which the front part of the altar may appear to be neatly looped up and may be made more showy." Then, after speaking of the six candlesticks and the crucifix, the description goes on :

On either side of this [the crucifix], if any relics can be had, or tabernacles containing relics, or statues, of silver or of any other material, of suitable height, these might be fittingly displayed, and these sacred relics and statues, when there are only six candlesticks upon the altar, may be placed in the spaces between the candlesticks, supposing the arrangement and length of the altar to allow of it ; moreover vases, handsomely decorated, with flowers and foliage, either sweet-scented (*i.e.* natural) or artificially made with silk, may also be employed.² And supposing the altar to be built against the wall, there may be attached to the wall above the altar some sort of hanging richer and more gorgeous than the rest, upon which are embroidered the figures of our Lord Jesus Christ, or of our Blessed Lady, or of the Saints, unless these should be already painted with suitable ornamentation upon the wall itself.

What with *fasciæ*, silver statues, relics and reliquaries, flowers, foliage, and embroidered hangings, with images of the saints, not to speak of an *umbraculum* with its trappings above, and with carpets on the steps below, it seems to us that for a specimen of a "plain and simple background," this model Roman altar does pretty well. The *Ceremoniale* does not appear nearly as solicitous as the Ancient Roman that the crucifix and candlesticks "should stand out and strike the eye." Moreover it is noticeable that it is from Roman practice, and not from the Modern Goth, that we have derived that object of beauty and edification, the vase of artificial flowers. Nay, the most Roman of all the Pontiffs in this matter, almost the only one whose devotion to rubrics led him to be exacting in the obedience he demanded, Pope Benedict XIII., of pious memory, has commended in print the use of sheets of metal flowers, made like

¹ Thalhofer, *Liturgik*, vol. i. p. 776, in commenting on this passage, translates *fasciæ* by *Besatzstreifen*.

² Although all the editions of the *Ceremoniale* seem agreed in the same punctuation, we cannot help thinking that the passage ought to be printed : "Sed et vascula cum floribus frondibusque, odoriferis seu serico contextis, studiose ornata adhiberi poterunt."

candlesticks all in one piece;¹ an arrangement, says his admirer, Mgr. Barbier de Montault, which, however great the economy it may effect, can hardly be described as beautiful. It would have been well if an Ancient Roman had borne this and other similar facts in mind before flinging broadcast his denunciations of meretricious ornament, spectacular effect, the vulgarity of the commercial middle class, and cheap carving in alabaster, or—*mirabile dictu*—fluor spar (!).

Let us pass on to the second rock of offence, the absence in many Gothic churches of the *pallium altaris*, or antependium. In this matter an Ancient Roman is quite certain that antiquity is with him. Are there not frequent references to these altar vestures in old church inventories, and do we not know that much artistic care and skill was lavished upon such fabrics? We are quite willing to allow the existence of pre-Reformation antependia, but we may venture to ask our opponent how he infers from the mention of such things in inventories that they were always or even commonly used during Mass. All the evidence we have seen on the subject points to the conclusion that our forefathers did exactly what the Modern Goth is reproached for doing. If the altar was plain and unornamented, they made it beautiful for High Mass with the most handsome frontal which they could procure.² When, on the other hand, the altar was carved and decorated, as hundreds of still existing mediæval altars are, they did not think that they would improve this costly wood or marble by hiding it from view with a piece of silk stretched on a frame, but they bestowed their skill in needlework elsewhere, on vestments, or side curtains, or carpets. We must have examined at different times some scores of mediæval miniatures representing altars, and we can say without hesitation that while the antependium of various colours is often there, it is almost if not quite as commonly absent. We might refer our readers to the large number of engravings in the seven volumes of Rohault de Fleury's *La Messe*, but we prefer to direct them to an authority whom an

¹ "Tabelle intagliate loco florum verdi in oro consimili a candelieri." (De Montault, *Traité de la Visite Pastorale*, p. 127.)

² This is the view of Dr. A. Schmid, whose authority upon the subject of mediæval altars must rank among the highest: "Im Falle nun der Stipes durch Säulen und Gemälde oder wenigstens durch steinernes Rippenwerk verziert war, konnte man der Antependien entbehren; in manchen Fällen aber bestand er nur aus zusammengesetzten Bruch- und Hausteinen und bedurfte daher einer eigenen Verkleidung." (And. Schmid, *Der christliche Altar und sein Schmuck*, p. 290.)

Ancient Roman himself has cited. In the *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*,¹ Mgr. Barbier de Montault has given a detailed description of forty-six miniatures from MSS. dating from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, most of which represent the altar during Mass, often a High Mass. Now, while in about half of these some trace of an antependium can be discovered, there are nearly as many in which the altar is left without any drapery in front, or in which we can see nothing but the altar-cloth. We may add that in the very latest of these miniatures, though the majority belong to the fifteenth century and some date even from the Reformation period, there is not one in which six candlesticks are seen upon the altar, very many have no indication of a crucifix or even of a cross, in some there are no lights upon the altar at all, but the deacon and subdeacon are holding candles in their hands, and in one only of the forty-six is there any trace of a *baldacchino*. Of a tabernacle of course at this period there can be no question. Seeing then that for fifteen hundred years the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was said throughout Christendom in all but complete ignorance of the canons which an Ancient Roman is contending for, the notion of the Modern Goth "*robbing*" our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament of this, that, and the other ensign of royalty is slightly ridiculous. When an Ancient Roman has given us fair evidence for believing that these canons were generally recognized in any single diocese, of any single country, of any single period throughout the history of the Catholic Church, it will be time enough to talk of the innovations of "the progeny of Pugin" in disregarding them. In the meantime it is interesting to notice that the most rigid champions of the letter of the law, authorities with whom our opponent will not dream of disagreeing, are satisfied with any kind of makeshift, provided only there be applied to the front of the altar a thin layer of some opaque material which they can call a pallium. Mgr. Barbier de Montault declares that frontals of stamped and gilded leather were common in some places before the end of the last century.² He considers that a leather antependium of this description is *très convenable*, and quite in accordance with the *Cæremoniale*. Benedict XIII. recommended for poor churches a frontal of wood, upon which may be painted flowers, or a cross, or a picture of the patron of

¹ Series i. vol. ix.

² *Traité Pratique de la Construction, &c., des Eglises*, vol. i. p. 456.

the church. A large sheet of gilt metal wrought in *repoussé* work obviously fulfils the same purpose, and is supposed to be distinctly contemplated by the *pallia aurea vel argentea* of the *Cæremoniale*. "Rien n'égale, en effet," says Mgr. de Montault, "une semblable parure," but he objects that it is too gorgeous for every-day use, and is apt to be covered by thrifty sacristans with a shirt of calico.¹ Lastly, it is quite understood that where a shrine with relics is preserved under the altar no frontal is needed, and the same privilege is said to be enjoyed by any altar fashioned tomb-shape or adorned with gold or precious stones.² Whether this means a *gold* front or a *gilt* front is a point not yet determined, and it need hardly be pointed out that there is a great deal of difference between the two.

In passing to the subject of tabernacles, it hardly seems worth while to discuss the theory of A.R., that at the time the name was first applied to receptacles for containing the Blessed Sacrament, it necessarily called up the idea of a tent or pavilion. We can only say, that to the best of our belief a *tabernaculum* suggested no more than what A.R. says it ought not to do, *i.e.*, a mere box or chest, or better still a monstrance. It was a *tabernaculum*, as old inventories show, which was used to take the Blessed Sacrament to the sick,³ it was a *tabernaculum* again, in which the Blessed Sacrament was carried in procession on Corpus Christi and Maundy Thursday, hence St. Charles Borromeo talks of *tabernacula* with a crystal face to be used for exposition of the Blessed Sacrament in the Forty Hours—surely here there can be no idea of covering or veiling—the relics placed upon the altar for High Mass, are to be kept according to the *Cæremoniale*, in *tabernacula*, but clearest of all we find in old Pontificals, pictures of *tabernacula* given opposite the rite for blessing them. We have before us an old Junta Pontifical of 1540, which gives in this place simply the picture of a small mediæval monstrance. Historically and etymologically, therefore, the canopy required for the tabernacle has no very secure foundation.

But as a matter of positive law, the Church has every right to insist upon the use of a canopy if she pleases. We do not

¹ "Alors on le couvre, et qu'on me pardonne l'expression on lui met une chemise. L'usage est le même et semblable aussi est l'étoffe, calicot blanc ou indienne bariolée." (*Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, vol. ix. p. 117.)

² See for instance Wapelhorst, *Compendium Sacre Liturgie*, Fifth Edition, p. 15. (1895.) Gavantus apparently originated this view, but by what right?

³ *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, series v. vol. v. p. 423.

pretend to decide the question here, we can only say that some approved rubricians hold that not only where the tabernacle door is of precious metal, but when it is even of brass or copper, if elaborately gilt and wrought, the decrees are not meant to apply.¹ Certainly such tabernacles may be seen almost everywhere without any external veil or canopy, and episcopal authority does not interfere. There are, however, one or two decrees of the Congregation of Sacred Rites which are interesting in this matter. The first is a question and reply of the year 1701, which seems to us to illustrate in a singular way the tolerance with which ecclesiastical authority contemplates the infraction of its own rubrics. In 1701, a question was submitted to the Congregation of Rites, asking if a vase of flowers could be allowed to stand before the Blessed Sacrament, "in such a way as to hide the tabernacle door and the image of our Lord engraved upon it." Now it will be noticed that the question clearly presupposes the absence of a veil, no image of our Lord could be seen if the tabernacle were already covered with a canopy. We might have expected then that the reply of the Congregation would have conveyed that there were two abuses instead of one to be corrected, and that it was little short of an impertinence to have asked the question in that form. But the answer came back: "Negative; posse tamen in humiliori et decentiori loco;" and Mgr. de Montault paraphrasing this reply, remarks, "The Congregation nevertheless, allows of a vase below the tabernacle door, and such in fact is the Roman custom."² It is difficult to understand where a vase can be placed below the tabernacle except upon the *mensa* of the altar; "on the very *mensa*," to borrow the Ancient Roman's indignant objurgation, "which has been solemnly consecrated for the Sacrifice of the Divine Victim." And to think that this "profanation" should be, as we have heard *aliunde* that it is, a common Roman custom!

Further, hardly less interesting than the apparently placid acquiescence of the Congregation of Rites in the ignoring of its own decisions, is the lack of acquaintance with these decisions on the part of learned Roman rubricists, who lay down the law for the world. The Ancient Roman is good enough to supply

¹ See above p. 372, note. On the other hand, the decrees of the Congregation of Sacred Rites, given July 21, 1855, and April 28, 1866, make no exception of any sort even for the precious metals. "Tabernaculum sit velo decenter opertum, *i.e.*, velo ad instar tentorii."

² *Traité Pratique*, vol. i. p. 187.

us quite unwittingly with an example of this in his Reply to Modernus, printed above. If the reader will turn back to p. 363, he will find a certain work by Mgr. Zitelli, introduced with a great flourish of trumpets, and triumphantly appealed to as the newest and most irrefragable authority on the subject.

Modernus [says the Ancient Roman] will find it therein laid down, on page 91, as part of the matter of inquiry at an Episcopal visitation: "Is the Sacrament of the Eucharist reserved in a tabernacle, the exterior of which is becoming, and covered with a canopy, also becoming, and of a colour which is congruous to the rite, and is the interior of the tabernacle lined all round with silk?"

No doubt these questions for episcopal visitation suggest that it is necessary that the tabernacle should be provided with a canopy, but they suggest also, that the colour of the canopy should change with the rite, and that the tabernacle should be lined with silk. The two last requirements contradict express decrees of the Congregation of Sacred Rites. With regard to the second of the two, the Congregation pronounced on May 16, 1871, that no silk lining was required if the tabernacle was gilt inside.¹ In regard to the colour of the canopy, though the decree of July 21, 1855, suggests that it is better that the colour should vary according to the Roman usage, it still recognizes the lawfulness of clothing the tabernacle at all times in white, the colour of the Blessed Sacrament.²

Surely this is a singularly unfortunate passage to quote, as the Ancient Roman quotes it, in evidence of the existence of a strict obligation, and to vindicate his own claim to be regarded as a rubrician thoroughly modern and up to date.

We may add that we have taken some pains to look through recent decrees and have quite satisfied ourselves that no subsequent legislation has reversed these previous enactments in the sense of Mgr. Zitelli. Here, indeed, we are met by another difficulty. There is no professed rubrician who does not find it hard, and for the busy parish priest it is practically impossible, to ascertain the exact state of liturgical law on any point even as regards the positive enactments of

¹ Urgell: "Dubium. Utrum sit de necessitate interiora tabernaculorum panno serico albo contegere, an æquivalet et sufficiat simplex auratura. S.C. rescribere rata est: Non esse necessarium." (Mühlbauer, *Decreta Authentica*, second series, vol. iii. p. 494. The decree is also quoted in Thalhofer, *Liturgik*, vol. i. p. 796.)

² Cf. Thalhofer, *Liturgik*, i. p. 797; Barbier de Montault, *Traité Pratique*, vol. i. p. 191.

Roman Congregations. It is by no means unknown for the Congregation of Rites to perform a *volta facie* and to allow in the end, *propter importunitatem* no doubt, practices which it has previously more than once condemned. Moreover, there is no easily accessible publication in which these decrees are registered; even the *Acta Sanctæ Sedis* is not, strictly speaking, official. It does not profess to print all the decisions of the Roman Congregations, much less to make them public immediately on their being issued. It is quite intrinsically possible therefore that at the moment we are writing the Congregation of Rites may have given some new decision, pronouncing for instance that the use of the tabernacle veil is no longer obligatory. We do not know of or expect any such decree, but if it were issued it would have plenty of parallels. Not to go further afield we might refer to the many prohibitions, in former days, against administering Holy Communion in black vestments—all which have been reversed. We may also add one short decision of the Congregation on the subject of palls, in answer to a question submitted as far back as 1852 by a rubrician in whom the Ancient Roman will recognize a kindred spirit. "Can it be," asks the questioner, evidently in pained surprise, "that notwithstanding the decrees issued by the Congregation of Sacred Rites, it is lawful to use a pall which on its upper surface is covered with silk." To which the Congregation reply: "Yes, it may be permitted, provided that the side next the chalice be of linen, and the upper surface is not of black colour or worked with the emblems of death."¹ From which it is clear that for palls at any rate "the monograms and other spider-like devices" which afflict the heart of the Ancient Roman are thoroughly *en règle*.

It only remains for us now to touch upon the last of the four grievances of the Ancient Roman, the one which in some respects lies nearest to his heart, we mean the *baldachino*. He tells us much about this emblem of honour, its necessity, its spiritual significance and mystic beauty. What he does not tell us is something of its history and of the very limited sphere within which it has ever been in general use. In hot climates where the sun's rays are formidable, but where at the same time

¹ "An non obstantibus decretis a S.S. Rituum Cong. editis uti liceat palla a parte superiori panno serico cooperta." S.C. respondit: "Permitti posse, dummodo palla linea subnecta calicem cooperiat ac pannus superior non sit nigri coloris nec referat aliqua mortis insignia." January 10, 1852. (Mühlbauer, *Decreta Authentica*, second series, vol. iii. p. 15.)

a great deal of social intercourse is carried on in the open air, it soon becomes understood that the first mark of politeness which should be shown to a visitor or guest is to place him in the shade. In meetings which take place out of doors, the awning, canopy, or cloth of estate, has a very practical significance indeed.

Next to it, as a mark of respect, we may remark the use of the punkah, or of fans. That these and similar observances should become to some extent conventional in course of time is natural enough. Hence the awning is transported even to places where the sun's rays cannot penetrate, the fans are displayed where there is no intention of putting them to practical use, candles are lighted and held close to the book at times when there is no need of them to see with, and so on. Clearly it is to this class of observances that the use of the *baldacchino* belongs. It is exactly kindred in idea to the liturgical fans now principally familiar from the Armenian rite and from the gorgeous peacock's feathers borne beside the Pope in his *sedes gestatoria*, but which were formerly common in many parts of Europe and penetrated even to Anglo-Saxon England. Now it seems to us intelligible enough that while in countries where awnings are almost a matter of necessity, the significance and appropriateness of such a cloth of estate is never lost sight of, in colder climes it is a matter of mere accident whether an exotic observance like this does or does not take root. As a matter of fact, we believe that it never has taken root in England, Germany, or France. We do not deny that there are good reasons to believe in the existence here and there of the custom of using such a canopy over the high altar in the middle ages, and we know that Gothic altars with ciboria were not infrequent,¹ but even after the legislation of the *Cæremoniale* and the Decrees of the Congregation of Rites, we defy our opponents to show that there was even an approach to a general use of *baldacchinos*² at any time before or after the Reformation in any one of these three countries. We may recall the evidence, quoted in a former page, of Mgr. Barbier de Montault's forty-six selected miniatures, in only *one* of which could he discover a trace of anything like a canopy over the

¹ Cf. Schmid, *Der Christliche Altar*, pp. 182, 259—262.

² In some places where they had been introduced, they seem soon to have degenerated into a sort of red tea-tray and a couple of streamers. Cf. Schmid, op. cit. p. 327, "ein kleines rothes Schirmdach mit zwei auf den Seiten des Altars weit herabhängenden Vorhängen."

altar. To talk, then, of Pugin and his lawless progeny *robbing* our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament of the honour which is His due, seems rather a misuse of words.

Much might be said upon this fruitful theme, but we must forbear. There are only two other points upon which we will add a word. The first is that the *Cæremoniale* prescribes that the drapery of the *baldacchino* is to follow the colour of the day, This fact, and the way the subject is there introduced lead us to think it not improbable that the framers of the *Cæremoniale* regarded the *baldacchino* simply as a decoration for great feasts like the adornment of the porch or the hangings on the walls. In any case, as Mgr. de Montault attests, this is a prescription which is everywhere neglected.¹ Secondly, we venture to say that the reader will find it very instructive to look through the decrees of the Congregation of Rites about *baldacchinos*. There must be, we think, some fifty in all. Of these just three have any reference to the *baldacchinos* over the altar. All the rest are framed to restrain secular magistrates and nobles of Italian towns from erecting little *baldacchinos* similar to that over the Bishop's throne, above their seats in church. This is the sort of thing: Baron Bitecti, in 1642, was ordered to take down his *baldacchino*, but after a while, with the connivance of the Bishop of the place, he set it up again, until finally the Congregation of Rites sent down a still stronger decree, and insisted that it should be cleared away. Forty years later we find that a Baroness of the same name has somehow or other managed to erect the *baldacchino* once more. So there has to be a new edict, and the Congregation addresses itself this time directly to the Bishop, with a precept *ut omnino amoveri faciat*.² One can quite understand that in a country where this little mark of distinction meant so much, its omission from the high altar would be felt as a want of respect. We show our reverence for the Blessed Sacrament in this country by abstaining from talking and spitting in church.³ In Rome they put up a *baldacchino*.

¹ "Le Cérémonial des évêques voudrait que le dais changeât de couleur selon les fêtes. Je dois dire que cette prescription ne s'observe nulle part." (*Traité Pratique*, vol. i. p. 163.) We quote Mgr. Barbier de Montault so frequently, because in the eyes of the Ancient Roman he is evidently a person of high authority and consideration.

² See the decrees in Gardellini, nn. 1386, 1406, 1407, 3064.

³ It was pleasant the other day to hear, as we did, from an eye-witness present at the scene, of the immense impression created among Roman ecclesiastics by the behaviour of the English sailors at the Pope's Mass. None of them talked, none of them spat, and they all of them knelt down.

One thing more. We have lately been examining a copy of the *Missale Romanum* issued in this year of grace 1896, by the firm of Pustet, of Ratisbon, who describe themselves on the title-page as printers to the Apostolic See and to the Congregation of Sacred Rites. It claims to be the *Editio Decima juxta Typicam*, and it appears under the seal and with the approbation of the same Congregation, given expressly for this edition on the 15th November, 1895.¹ What is more, the Bishop of Ratisbon, in his own special *imprimatur* dated November 24th, 1895, states that Father Schober, C.S.S.R., Consultor of the Congregation of Sacred Rites, and, we may add, the author of a well-known liturgical manual, having been deputed to examine this same tenth edition, has reported after diligent inspection that the copy is in all respects exact and faithful. Now in this doubly-authenticated publication, conspicuously facing the beginning of the *Proprium de Tempore*, we find a full-page engraving of an altar prepared for High Mass, intended to illustrate, as the head-line states, the *Ordo Incensationis Altaris juxta Rubricas Missalis Romani*. We hope that this Missal will not fall in the way of the Ancient Roman, for we fear that the shock to his peace of mind might have serious consequences. The altar depicted there, in this the most authoritative and authentic edition of the Mass Book of the Church, is the typical altar of the Modern Goth. It has no *antependium*, and the elaborate arcading which ornaments the front of it obviously shows that it was never intended to have any. As the six candles are lit for High Mass, we may assume that the Blessed Sacrament is not in the tabernacle, but it is interesting to notice that the design of this tabernacle absolutely precludes the possibility of any canopy such as the Ancient Roman thinks essential to the idea of a tent or pavilion, and renders it difficult to conceive how even a simple veil could be fitted to it. The altar-cloth extends only a few inches beyond the edge of the altar, and does not hang down to the ground. The candlesticks, with six lighted candles of equal height, stand on a ledge some three feet above the level of the *mensa altaris*, and the crucifix neither dominates them nor resembles them in appearance. Last, but not least, there is no trace either of *ciborium* or

¹ "APPROBATIO. Revisione rite peracta, omnia in hac editione, solerti equidem studio adornata, cum exemplari typico plane concordare reperta sunt. In fidem, &c., Ex Secretaria Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis hac die 15 Novembris 1895. Aloisius Tripepi S.R.C. Secretarius." The signature and seal are given in *facsimile*.

baldacchino, much less of curtains or hangings of any kind. With the exception of the scanty but profusely-braided altar-cloth, the whole construction is devoid of vesture of any sort.

The omission of the *baldacchino* is especially noticeable, because in the oldest editions of the same printer there may be found a different engraving of the altar, which the present plate has replaced. The older engraving is just as destitute of *antependium* and tabernacle-veil, but it displays a stone *ciborium* which has now disappeared. For some twenty or thirty years these representations, which violate every one of the Ancient Roman's canons, have been employed to depict the Christian altar in the official edition of the Roman Missal. Dozens of censors must have set their hand and seal to the book, and no one to this day appears to have raised any objection to it.

Now, despite the multiplied official sanctions under which this edition of the *Missale* appears, we have no thought of appealing to this engraving as involving a formal commendation of the Gothic altar and as a sanction given to the details in which it contradicts the *Cæremoniale*. It is only, in our view, one more illustration of a principle which every fact adduced in this paper appears to us to bear out, viz., that in the minor points of rubrical observance the Church contemplates and allows a wise and discreet liberty, reserving to herself indeed the power to intervene authoritatively and effectively if need should arise, but leaving it for the most part to the Bishops and Synods, whose action will be guided by her decrees, to correct abuses and establish a sound public opinion. It is the duty of no individual priest or architect to study the antiquated prescriptions of the *Cæremoniale*, or to acquaint himself with the latest decrees of the Congregation of Rites. It is enough for him if he conforms his practice to the teaching of the ordinary liturgical manuals of good repute, and follows the example of those churches around him where the service of God is reverently and becomingly carried out. Let it not be supposed that upon these principles the decrees of Congregations are robbed of force or value. No, they still remain the fundamental documents upon which rubrical science is built, and in good time they all produce their effect in modifying the teaching of professed rubricians and guiding the action of the Bishops. But for the Church at large their adequate promulgation takes place only in this indirect way, and in the meantime their obligation does not press. It need hardly be said that we

advance this view with all possible deference to the pronouncements, past and future, of Holy Church, but we confess it seems to us the common-sense view, the only view which can be logically reconciled with liturgical history (notably the almost infinite variety of local "uses" which have prevailed at many ages of the Church), and above all, the only view which does not entangle the student in all sorts of unverifiable theories about law and custom, where each man frames a system for himself, and finds that just those things are binding and observed at Rome which he wishes to retain, and just those have fallen into desuetude which he wishes to get rid of.

We have confined ourselves principally in this paper to questions of fact, because we presume that the Ancient Roman's playful banter about the Modern Goth's affection for the nude, and other kindred passages, are not meant to be taken seriously. He himself will hardly suppose that by calling an undraped altar "naked," he has logically demolished it, and swept it out of existence. It would be easy, we think, to show that altars, whether Pagan, Jewish, or Christian, were naked, and were not ashamed, for some five thousand years before the Ancient Roman was dreamed of. It seems indeed a pity that the disciples of this school should have lavished so much drapery on their altars and pulpits, that they often seem to have none to spare for their pictures. But we must leave this, and many other questions suggested by the Ancient Roman's indictment, and we can only offer our readers a sincere apology for having detained them so long.

H. T.

The Statutes of Limitations as they affect Property.

DOMAT¹ tells us that one of the great functions of Arbitrary Laws is to regulate difficulties which arise in the application of the Immutable Laws; meaning by Immutable Laws, those which are the direct consequences of the two fundamental laws of our Creator enjoining the love of God and of our neighbour. And he takes the law of Prescription as an example to illustrate his meaning. Thus, it is a Natural and Immutable Law that he who is the owner of a thing, should always continue to have the property in it until he has divested himself of it voluntarily, or has been divested of it in some just and legal way: and it is likewise another Natural and Immutable Law that possessors ought not always to be in danger of being molested in their possession, and that he who has been in possession of a thing for a long time should be looked upon as the owner of it; because men are naturally careful not to abandon their property to others, and we ought not to presume without proof that a possessor is a usurper. And he continues, "It is evident that the contrariety to which these two laws might lead us, one of them restoring the first owner against an ancient possessor, and the other maintaining a new possessor against the right owner, required that it should be regulated by an arbitrary law, that they who are not in possession and who should notwithstanding claim the right of property, should be bound to assert and prove their right within a certain time: and that after that time the possessors who had not been molested in their possession should be maintained in it. And this is what has been done by the arbitrary laws, which settle the times of prescriptions."

Now, prescription has been divided into two classes, Positive and Negative.

¹ Domat, *Civil Law, Treatise of Laws*, cap. ii. §§ 6 and 8.

Positive prescription, through lapse of time, gives a positive or affirmative right to the person in possession.

Negative prescription, at the end of a certain period, merely takes away the right of the original owner to recover property the possession of which he has lost.

In English Law, positive prescription is applicable only to the acquisition of rights over another man's land, called Easements and Profits *à prendre*, of which we hope to treat on a future occasion.

With regard to other kinds of property the effect of time upon title is negative. In the case of recovery of chattels, the statute of James I.¹ merely takes away the right of action at the end of six years; or, as it is said, it bars the remedy, but does not extinguish the right. For example, A. has somehow got possession of a valuable picture belonging to B., who requests him to hand it over. A. refuses, and continues to treat the picture as his own, and the matter is allowed to rest for six years after the refusal. The result is that if B. brings an action after that time, A. can, if he wishes, plead the Statute of Limitations, which will be a perfectly good defence. But the true property in the picture is not changed by lapse of time; and accordingly, if B. by any means again obtains control of the picture, he can keep it, and A. will have no right of action against him, however long the former wrongful possession might have lasted.²

In the case of land the effect of time is more like positive prescription, because the statute³ not only bars the remedy of the former owner, but takes away his right also; but, as it does not operate as a Statutory Conveyance of the estate to the new owner, even here the prescription must be called negative.

We will now consider a few points with respect to these statutes, as constituting a title to property.

I.

First as to chattels. The statute applicable is 21 Jac. I. c. 16.

Proceedings must be taken within six years next after the cause of action. But if the person entitled to bring the action be under disability (the meaning of which we will explain later),

¹ 21 Jac. I. c. 16.

² See per Lord Esher, M.R. in *Miller v. Dell*. (1891), 1, Q.B. p. 471.

³ 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 27, s. 34. See Hewitt's *Statutes of Limitations*, p. 159.

the time will be extended to six years after the disability has ceased.

The first question, then, is, When does a complete cause of action for the retention of a chattel arise?

It arises when the possession of the defendant becomes adverse to the right of the owner. As long as the defendant holds the goods with the consent of the owner, or in any other lawful way, the period mentioned in the statute does not begin to run; but as soon as some wrongful act is done, such as a wrongful conversion or dealing with the goods, or there is a refusal to deliver them up to an owner who has a right to demand them, then the possession of the defendant is adverse, a complete cause of action arises, and the period of six years begins to run. If that time be allowed to go by, it will be too late to recover the goods by any proceedings in a court of law.

In *Wortlêy Montague v. Lord Sandwich*,¹ on the death of a certain owner of real and personal property, his house descended to his heir-at-law, and his furniture went to the executor appointed by his will. The executor left the furniture in the house with the consent of the heir, who used it. Some time afterwards the executor demanded the furniture, and was refused. When an action was brought the heir pleaded the Statute of Limitations, saying that he had been in possession of the furniture for more than six years, and that the action was therefore too late. It was held, however, that the user of the furniture before demand was no conversion, and that the only evidence of conversion was the refusal to give it up on demand, and this occurred within six years of action brought. The statute, therefore, afforded no defence, and the furniture was restored to the executor.

If, however, a wrongful conversion has taken place, the time will begin to run at once, notwithstanding the plaintiff's ignorance of the wrongful act.² And, as a general rule, when there has once been a wrongful act or default, subsequent circumstances which, but for such act or default, would have constituted a cause of action, are disregarded. But this rule is not universal. Thus, in the case of *Wilkinson v. Verity*,³ the defendant, who was a country Vicar, in 1859 withdrew the communion plate from the use of the church and sold it,

¹ 7 Mod. 99.

² *Granger v. George*, 5 B. and C. 149.

³ L.R. 6 C.P. 206.

substituting first a brazen and subsequently another silver service. The fact of the sale was not known to the churchwardens, and in 1870 a formal demand was made on their behalf, with which of course the defendant did not comply. It was contended by the defendant on these facts that the Statute of Limitations ran from the date of the sale in 1857, and that consequently the action was barred; but it was held that here there were two separate and distinct causes of action, and that the churchwardens could either have sued for the wrongful conversion (that is the sale, had they discovered it), or, if they chose, could wait until there was a breach of the defendant's duty as bailee,¹ by refusal to deliver up on request, and that, if the latter course were adopted, it was no answer for a bailee to say that, by his own misconduct, he had incapacitated himself from complying with the lawful demand of the bailor. The churchwardens therefore recovered £29 18s., the value of the service of plate.

The disabilities mentioned in the statute are: (1) Infancy (being under twenty-one), (2) coverture (being a wife), (3) unsoundness of mind, (4) imprisonment, and (5) absence beyond the seas; and a person under any of these disabilities was at liberty to bring his action for taking away his goods within six years after the disability was removed. And by a statute of Anne it is in effect provided that when the person against whom the action is to be brought is beyond the seas when the cause of action accrues, the six years will begin to run on his return home.²

The disabilities of being beyond the seas and of being in imprisonment when the cause of action arose, have been abolished by the Mercantile Law Amendment Act, 1856.³

When a person is under disability when a cause of action arises, and so continues until death, it is a question whether his executor or administrator is under any limitation at all, but

¹ A bailee is a person entrusted with the goods of another for some particular purpose.

² 4 Anne, c. 16, sec. 19; but by the Mercantile Law Amendment Act, 19 and 20 Vict. c. 97, sec. 12, no part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, nor the islands of Man, Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Sark, nor any islands adjacent to any of them, being part of the dominions of her Majesty, shall be deemed to be beyond the seas, within the meaning of the statute of Anne.

³ 19 and 20 Vict. c. 97, sec. 10. And as to the disability of coverture, see Married Women's Property Act, 1882, and the cases of *Weldon v. Neal*, 32, W.R. 828, and *Lowe v. Fox*, L.R. 15, Q.B.D. 667.

at any rate it is certain that he has six years from the death within which to bring his action.¹

The statute of James made no exception in the case of persons who were kept in ignorance of their rights through fraud, but the Courts of Equity held that time would not run in such a case so long as the fraud remained undiscovered.²

2.

The Statutes of Limitations relating to the recovery of land, is 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 27, as altered by the Real Property Limitation Act, 1874, 37 and 38 Vict. c. 57.

Land, or rent charged on land, must now be recovered by entry, distress, or action, within twelve years after the time when the right so to proceed first accrued, either to the person seeking to recover the land or rent, or to some person through whom he claims; or, after a written acknowledgment of his title has been given to the owner or his agent by the person in possession.

If at the time when the right of action accrued to the true owner he was under disability of infancy, or unsoundness of mind, he, or the person claiming through him, may sue within six years after the disability shall have ceased, or the person under disability shall have died. The utmost time, however, allowed for disability is thirty years.

A person entitled in reversion or remainder³ can generally bring his action within twelve years after becoming entitled in possession; but if the person who had the previous interest upon which the reversion or remainder was expectant was out of possession, then the remainderman may take proceedings within twelve years next after the time when such person might have taken proceedings, or within six years after the reversion or remainder comes into possession, whichever be the longer period.

This section⁴ may be thus illustrated. Let us suppose that Blackacre is settled in such a manner that George Smith has it for his life, and after his death his son, William Smith, is to take it. If George holds possession all his life, and immediately on his death Jones, a usurper, steps in, then William Smith

¹ *Townsend v. Deacon*, 18 L.J. Ex. 298.

² *Hewitt's Statutes of Limitations*, p. 205.

³ See article on Real Property, *THE MONTH* for August, 1894.

⁴ Sec. 2, 37 and 38 Vict. c. 57.

has twelve years within which to recover the land from Jones. But suppose that by some means Jones got possession of Black-acre during the life of George Smith, say on the 1st of August, 1884, and that George did not avail himself of the right of action which then accrued to him, but remained out of possession during the remainder of his life ; in this case William Smith will be allowed to bring his action either before the 1st of August, 1896, or within six years of the death of George, whichever be the longer period.

A mortgagor, or person claiming under him, must bring his action to redeem the property within twelve years of the mortgagee taking possession, or making some payment on account of principal or interest, or giving the mortgagor a written acknowledgment of his title.

The rightful owner will not lose his property merely by leaving it vacant for however long a time, provided no one else is in possession who claims and intends to hold as owner ; and if the possession of a stranger can be attributed to a lawful title it will be so attributed, and the period of limitation will not run. Thus if a man continues to receive rents of a property after the death of the owner, acknowledging that he so receives them on behalf of an unknown heir when he is discovered, he cannot after twelve years say he has been in possession on his own account, and claim a title under the statute.¹

All that is necessary, however, is that the usurper should intend to hold as owner, and the English law, unlike some foreign systems, makes no distinction between *bonâ fide*, through mistaken acquisitions for value, and acquisitions by purely wrongful acts.

The effect of the law will be seen from the case of *Seddon v. Smith*.²

Under an inclosure Act, a long strip of land, part of the waste of the manor, and therefore belonging to the lord of the manor, had been set out so as to be used as a road to a farm. The strip of land was not granted to the owner of the farm, but he merely had a right to use it as a road for his carts and waggons to go to and from the farm. The width of the strip was thirty feet, and the farmer, finding this was more than was required for the roadway, began by planting cabbages on three-quarters of the width of the lane, leaving one quarter, or

¹ Lyell 2, Kennedy, L.R. 14, App. Cas. 437.

² 36, L.T. (N.S.) 168.

seven feet six inches, for a roadway and footpath. Thus he went on year by year planting cabbages and other crops, and so continued for more than twenty years, which at that time was the period of limitation.¹ There were valuable minerals under the land, which were being worked by the lord or his tenant. But when the tenant of the mines began to work the minerals immediately under the strip, the farmer brought an action of trespass against him for taking away coal to which he alleged he had gained a right under the Statute of Limitations; and the Court of Exchequer held that the farmer was entitled to a wall of coal thirty feet wide under the whole strip.

The Court of Appeal affirmed this decision, with one modification, namely, that the farmer's right was to be confined to the part over which he had exercised acts of ownership by planting and cultivating, exclusive of the portion used only as a road for which it was laid out. In other words, the Chief Justice and the Lords Justices Brett and Baggallay held that the farmer had established an absolute right to a wall of minerals twenty-two feet six inches wide for the whole length of the strip.

The statute of William IV., however, specially provides² that in the case of concealed fraud the right of action shall be deemed to have accrued at, and not before, the time at which the fraud is discovered, or by reasonable diligence might have been discovered.

It will be necessary for a plaintiff who brings an action under this section to show, first, that there has been concealed fraud; secondly, that he or his predecessors in title have been deprived of the land by such fraud; and thirdly, that the fraud had not been discovered, and could not with reasonable diligence have been discovered, within the period ordinarily allowed by the statute, viz., twelve years.³

In the case of *Chetham v. Hoare*,⁴ in 1870, the plaintiff sought to recover possession of estates worth half a million of money, which had been in the possession of the defendants and their ancestors nearly one hundred and fifty years. He said he was entitled under certain old settlements, and that he and his ancestors had on various occasions endeavoured to make out their title, but had never been able to prove a certain

¹ Since reduced to twelve years by 37 and 38 Vict. c. 57.

² Sec. 26.

³ *Willis v. Earl Howe* (1893), 2 Ch. 545.

⁴ L.R. 9 Equity Cases, 571.

marriage which formed a link in the chain of evidence. He went on to state that he had recently discovered that the register-book containing the entry of the marriage had been tampered with, in fact that the page on which the marriage had been entered had been torn out; and that this had, in his opinion, been done in order to prevent him or his ancestors from obtaining evidence of the marriage, and so establishing their title. This, it was contended, constituted such a fraud as could not by reasonable diligence have been discovered earlier. But Vice-Chancellor Malins held that there were other ways by which the marriage might long before have been proved; for example, by reputation in the family; and came to the conclusion that the plaintiff had failed to bring himself under the protection of section 26; that even if the allegation of fraudulent concealment of the marriage had been proved, yet there was absence of that reasonable diligence by which the fraud might have been discovered at an earlier period.

If, however, concealed fraud is proved lapse of time will not avail, unless the person in possession is a *bonâ fide* purchaser for valuable consideration without notice of the fraud.

Formerly, where property was held by trustees in trust for a beneficiary, unless the beneficiary had practically acquiesced in a breach of trust, no lapse of time would bar his claim against his trustee. But now¹ a trustee has the same protection under the Statutes of Limitations as any other person, except where the claim against him is founded upon fraudulent conduct to which the trustee was party; or is to recover trust property, or the proceeds thereof, still retained by the trustee, or previously received by him and converted to his own use.

W. C. MAUDE.

¹ See 37 and 38 Vict. c. 57, s. 10; and The Trustee Act, 1888, 51 and 52 Vict. c. 59, s. 8.

The Dutch Claims in Guiana.

IN an article on the "Venezuelan Boundary Question," in the last number of this Review, an attempt was made to explain the main facts of this important problem, and to state the principles upon which alone, as it seems to us, a satisfactory solution can be arrived at. We urged that the only true title to the disputed territory must be held to be the title of conquest and occupation; that the Spanish settlements and missions can be clearly shown not to have approached within fifty miles of the Schomburgk line, now claimed by Great Britain; and that this boundary represents on the whole satisfactorily the zone along which the two waves spreading from Dutch and Spanish centres respectively have encountered and intersected each other. Treating the matter from this point of view, the claims to territory made upon paper by Spanish and Dutch in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries lose much of their importance. On both sides they were likely to be vague, shifting, and unreal. Of the extravagance of the assumptions of the Spanish Government in the period of its decadence we have already sufficiently spoken. But the Dutch claim deserves to be treated apart, and at somewhat greater length; the more so because, if the representations of the Venezuelan Ministers are to be trusted, the Dutch are themselves the chief witnesses against us.

We have already in the former article ventured to express the opinion that the framers of the Blue Book have not been entirely judicious in their presentment of the British case. They have undertaken to prove too much. Not content with producing evidence—and this, we think, with complete success—to show that the disputed territory was never in any way occupied by Spain, they have also accepted the much more difficult task of establishing that the claim of Holland from the beginning has never wavered, that the limits contemplated

by the Treaty of Münster are substantially identical with the demands of the British Government at this day. Now, it must not be supposed that we consider this a preposterous absurdity. The Blue Book fully justifies the statement of Lord Salisbury in 1890, that her Majesty's Ministers "have acquired much information of which they believe that the Venezuelan Government is not aware." There is solid reason to think that, even before the middle of the seventeenth century, the Dutch had laid claim to a territory in these regions quite as ample as that now in dispute. But then there is also conflicting evidence on the other side, evidence very lightly touched upon, not to say ignored, in the Blue Book, and this evidence suggests that the claim was not too seriously made, and that it corresponded rather with golden dreams of the possible developments of the Dutch West India Company, than with any actual occupation of territory even of the slightest and most superficial kind.

Now, in our humble judgment, the Venezuelan Boundary dispute having become an international question, it is much less likely to be settled ultimately by the reasonings of hard-headed lawyers and geographical experts, than by the sort of logic which appeals to a popular audience. The British case, as presented in the Blue Book, contains statements which are at least disputable. We will not say that they are not justified, but they invite the production of a flood of evidence on the other side, each item of which will be made to look like a controversial victory. In the view adopted and urged in our former article, this evidence all becomes irrelevant. It matters very little what the Dutch claimed or did not claim in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It may be assumed that in the game of brag which then went on, both parties will have made statements and designed maps which were chiefly meant for the edification of those who were not disposed to scrutinize them too narrowly. The Dutch West India Company had excellent reasons for making the most of their undertakings in Guiana. They had nothing to lose and everything to gain by assigning themselves a generous and ample frontier. On the other hand, Spain regarded herself as possessed of the greater part of the American continent by a sort of Divine right, a right of which she could no more divest herself than a king could wash out his unction. In contrast to these unrealities, the two facts of supreme importance are, first, that the Spanish advance eastward never extended beyond Tumeremo, being there abruptly arrested

by the diplomatic protests and hostile menaces of the Dutch traders, and secondly, that the position at the mouth of the Barima, whatever the Dutch may have done or failed to do in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, lay entirely beyond the sphere of practical Spanish control, down to the time when the boundary question came up and Sir Robert Schomburgk, in 1841, erected the posts and flags which caused so much disturbance. Beside these two vital facts, the earlier claims of the Dutch are of inferior moment, but they have still their value in showing that the action of Great Britain, in 1841, was neither arbitrary nor wantonly aggressive.

We have insisted, at the risk of some reiteration, on these points, because we have now to turn to an assertion contained in the Preliminary Statement of the Blue Book, an assertion which is likely more than any other to draw the enemy's fire, and which nevertheless we conceive to be quite unnecessary to the British case. Summing up the documents submitted which belong to the period from 1648 to 1796, the compilers of the Blue Book express themselves as follows :

The foregoing concise summary of events between 1648 and 1796 will be materially amplified and confirmed by an examination of the documents annexed hereto. *These establish conclusively* the following facts :

1. That during the whole of this period the Dutch were in uninterrupted possession of the entire coast-line from the River Corentin to Barima.
2. That during the same period they had explored the upper portions of nearly all the rivers, and to a considerable extent made settlements in the adjacent districts.

Four other propositions follow with which we have no quarrel, and which only state in concise terms conclusions already advocated in our former article. Of the two which we have quoted, the second seems more strongly worded than it ought to be, but it may pass muster ; our difficulty is concerned entirely with the first and with the words preceding it which we have italicized.

The Blue Book states that the documents published within its covers establish conclusively the fact that from 1648 to 1796 "the Dutch were in uninterrupted possession of the entire coast-line from the River Corentin to Barima." Clearly these words are calculated to convey something more than the mere absence of any rival power in the tract of coast-line named : they mean

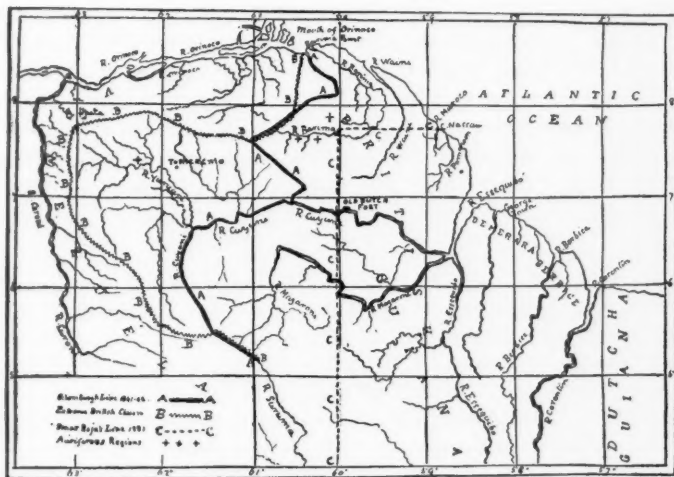
that for a hundred and fifty years the Dutch occupied and went on occupying the coast, not merely to the Pomeroon, but right up to the Orinoco. Now, if this allegation can be substantiated, the matter is practically settled. The whole crux of the problem lies, as the course of the previous negotiations has shown, in determining the point on the coast which is to be assigned as the extreme northern limit of British Guiana. Does the colony extend to the Orinoco, or only to the Maroco, or to Cape Nassau, or, as the Venezuelans first contended, not further than the Essequibo estuary? But here we are told in one sentence that, "as the documents in the Blue Book conclusively prove," not merely the claim, but the actual occupation of the Dutch extended uninterruptedly as far as the Barima, from 1648 down to the time when the Dutch surrendered the territory. One turns with much interest to examine the *pièces justificatives* which form the bulk of the volume, and we must plainly say that, with the friendliest interpretation of these documents, we can find nothing, or next to nothing, which justifies such a statement. The maps facsimiled in Appendix III. of the Blue Book attest clearly enough the Dutch *claim* to occupy the country as far as the Barima, but of actual possession they afford not the least indication—indeed, they virtually disprove it. Then in the Preliminary Statement we meet first the mention of a Spanish document of 1671 (printed as No. 15), which reports that "the Dutch are near the entrance of the said river" (the Orinoco). This is in itself a sufficiently vague statement, but it may and probably does contain a reference to a post said to have been planted about this period by the Dutch at the mouth of the Barima. Then another Spanish paper of 1676 declares that "the Dutch possess the greater part of the coast of Guayana from Trinidad to the River Amazons." Trinidad being of course close to the mouth of the Orinoco, this amounts to the assertion that most of the coast from the Orinoco to the Amazon was in the hands of the Dutch, but the statement is quite indefinite. Finally, in 1684, the Preliminary Statement informs us: "In 1684, the Dutch Commandeur of Essequibo recommended that a strong little post should be established at Barima in place of the small watch-house *that already existed there.*" Whether this recommendation was carried out we are unfortunately not told, and still more unfortunately, although a general reference to "Hague Records"—no particular paper or collection of papers being named—is given in the margin, the

text of this vitally important document is not printed in the Blue Book. We hear no more of the Barima until 1757, when "the Spanish Commandant on the Orinoco complained to the Dutch authorities of disorders at Barima, showing that the Dutch then had jurisdiction there." By a most regrettable coincidence, though here also a vague reference is given to "Hague Records," the document itself is not printed.

In 1768, we are told that Centurion, the Spanish commandant, ordered a raid to be made upon the Dutch "who were established upon the Barima in the immediate vicinity of the grand mouth of the Orinoco." Of this raid the Dutch addressed strong complaints to the Spaniards, but a similar raid was nevertheless made next year against the Dutch posts upon the Waini and Maroco. It is not a little curious that although in this case a definite reference is given to a bundle of papers in the Archivo de Indias at Seville, it has been thought well, for some good reason, not to print the text of the document in the Blue Book—and this though many others find a place there which are of quite subsidiary importance. We do not, of course, doubt that these papers really exist. Very possibly they have been reserved to form a second supplement dealing professedly with this question. But in that case we regret, first, that some announcement of this intention has not been clearly made,¹ and, secondly, that the readers of the Blue Book are told that a certain statement is conclusively established by documents annexed, when the documents which contain the real point of the proof are every one of them conspicuously absent. In other words, the main contention of the Venezuelans is that the Dutch never took possession of any territory, much less permanently established themselves, north of the Pomeroon. The British Government is understood to reply that the Dutch maintained a post as far north even as the Barima "uninterruptedly" for one hundred and fifty years, and when we turn to the evidence which is to show that it was not a mere plundering or fishing expedition which had taken the Dutch into those parts, we find that the documents referred to as proving this, which might perhaps have added at the outside some four extra pages to the size of the volume, have not been

¹ In writing thus, we have overlooked a note which may be read at the end of a couple of leaves, printed separately as "Errata" to the first Blue Book. It is there stated that the other documents referred to in the "Preliminary Statement" will be published in a supplementary Paper.

included in the collection. We are really afraid that unless this omission is made good, and that speedily, the Blue Book can hardly fail to produce in unfriendly quarters a far from favourable impression.



It would be easy to give illustrations of the sort of evidence of which, as suggested above, the Blue Book seems to take no account. One of the best known of the early works on Guiana is that contained in two handsome quarto volumes, published in Dutch, in 1770, by J. J. Hartsinck.¹ It is clearly, to judge only by the illustrations and maps, a work upon which much care was lavished. It was evidently intended to serve as a work of primary authority on the subject amongst a people whose interest in the colony was immediate and real. If inaccuracies occur, they are likely to be found on the side of exaggerating rather than belittling the glories of Dutch rule in Guiana. Now, in the general map which accompanies the work, Hartsinck fixes the boundary, not at the Barima, but at the Waini, and in his chapter on Essequibo he gives a short description of the principal features along the coast in order as they occur, travelling from the Orinoco downwards. A few short extracts from this chapter will not be out of place. The rough sketch-map used in our former article may also fitly be inserted here.

¹ *Beschryving van Guiana* (Description of Guiana).

Dutch Guiana [he says] is divided into (1) the colony of Essequibo, which comprises the River Bouweron or Poumeron, and further adjoining rivers and districts, together with the colony of Demerary—these colonies being under the administration of the West India Company of the Chamber of Zeeland; (2) the colony of Berbice, &c. . .

Some give as the boundary of Dutch Guiana on the western side, the River Baryma, situated in $8^{\circ} 5'$ North Latitude, where it runs into the estuary of the River Oronoque; others assign the River Waine as the western limit, situated about five miles [Dutch miles, each of which = about 4 English miles] east of the Oronoque. . .

The first rivers we meet in Dutch Guiana, as we come down the coast from the Oronoque, are the creeks or rivers of the Baryma, about a mile broad, where we used to have a post (*daar wij eertijds een Post hebben gehad*); three miles further on the Amachara,¹ of the same breadth, which flows into the mouth of the Oronoque side by side with the last named. More than three miles further eastward is the creek Mocco-Mocco, again two miles further the River Waine, three-quarters of a mile broad, but shallow. Then the coast trends south-south-east, and a mile and a half further on in that direction it forms an inlet called the Bay of Peche, a mile broad, which runs inland for a mile and a half. From this the coast continues unbroken as far as the River Moruga, called by us the Marocke, at a distance of six miles from the Waine. In the said Bay (of Peche) a kind of pitch comes up from the bottom, which, after floating for some time on the surface of the water, becomes as hard as a stone. On the aforesaid river or creek Marocke, which unites with the creek Wacquepo at about a distance of two or three miles from the sea, and which nearly half way between the Waine and Poumeron rivers runs into the sea by an estuary which retains the name of Wacquepo, we have at the confluence of these creeks a post which was formerly a stronghold (*een sterk Huis*), provided with some cannon, but now dilapidated.²

It seems to us inconceivable that the author of this circumstantial account can have known of any post nearer the Orinoco than that on the Moruca. It is quite clear that the Barima station must have been then abandoned. What is more, the few words used by the Dutch geographer of the stronghold on the Moruca closely agree with the reports of Don José de Iturriaga, printed in the Blue Book from the Archivo de Indias in Seville. This official, the head of the Spanish-Portuguese Boundary Com-

¹ The more westerly river is now called the Amacura, and the Barima lies to the east of it. Whether Hartsinck has simply made a blunder and confused the two, or whether the names got interchanged since his time, we cannot say. It is curious that Bouchenröder's map of 1798 makes the same mistake. It is referred to by Netscher in a passage shortly to be quoted.

² Hartsinck, *Beschryving van Guiana*, vol. i. p. 257.

mission in 1757, encloses information obtained from spies, who had sailed to the Moruca to examine the post there, which was evidently regarded by the Spaniards at that time as threatening a fresh advance and usurpation of the Dutch. There is much in Iturriaga's despatches which lends valuable support to the present British claim, but he none the less speaks in terms which are hardly reconcilable with any previous successful attempt by the Dutch at that date to establish themselves permanently near the Orinoco. "If," he argues, "they be permitted to-day in Moruca, they will pass some other day to Barima, which flows into the mouth itself."¹ Again, whatever deductions it may be necessary to make from Centurion's statement (April 5, 1770) on the Spanish side, that "they (the Dutch) have no other settlement there (between the colony of Essequibo and the Orinoco) than a guard in a thatch-covered house on the east bank of the River Moruca," it is impossible to believe that if the Dutch had really been *permanently* settled in recent times nearer the Orinoco, the fact should not have been urged when their High Mightinesses, in 1769, remonstrated with the Spanish Government,² and pleaded the antiquity of the Moruca post.

What seems to us to render the loose and careless statements of the Blue Book about the occupation as far as the Orinoco the more regrettable, is that the subject has already been examined by a Dutch scholar, Mr. P. M. Netscher, in an important and recent work cited in the last Venezuelan memorandums. Whatever may be Mr. Netscher's real qualifications for the task, his book, which is founded largely on unpublished documents in the archives of the Netherlands, leaves the impression of scholarly care. He may be presumed to be free from national bias—disposed, if anything, to favour the old Dutch claims—and a previous book of his on the Dutch in Brazil has been received as a work of very genuine research. The conclusions of such an independent authority will be sure to carry great weight, especially in the United States, and it was to be desired, we think, that if upon any question of historical fact his views were rejected or ignored, this should not be done without the production of ample and convincing evidence. Under the circumstances, no apology seems needful for printing here a translation of the greater part of the short Appendix in which this authority discusses the subject before

¹ Blue Book, p. 89.

² *Ibid.* pp. 109—113.

us. After a few unimportant words of introduction, Mr. Netscher continues :

As an illustration, let it here be noticed, that in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the commanders of all the Dutch Colonies in Guiana, always set down small stations (*posten*), in the most distant parts of their territory, to carry on their trade with the natives or free Indians; these stations are sometimes called on the maps, "forts," but this is inaccurate and an exaggeration. Such a station ordinarily consisted of a post-holder or "uitlegger," and one or two inferior Europeans, commonly soldiers, as helpers or "bijleggers," besides a few Indian or negro-slaves. The wooden hut or "the house of the uitlegger," was nearly always surrounded with an earthen wall or palisade as a precaution against possible attacks of hostile Indians, and the post-holder hoisted there the flag of the West India Company. That there existed, in the second half of the seventeenth century, such a post at the mouth of Barima, despatched from Essequibo, seems to be certain. Hartsinck at least mentions it and we have followed his example,¹ but, after further research in the Government Archives, we have latterly come to the conviction, that as early as 1683 or 1684, this post no longer existed, and consequently had either been destroyed by enemies or had been recalled. Indeed we find in the ample correspondence of the governors of Essequibo and of Pomeroon (still existing in its entirety in the Archives of the Government from 1680 onwards), not one single word mentioned of a post on the Barima, whilst the other stations or "uitleggers" are frequently spoken of. So we see, that in the first report, made by the Governor of Essequibo, September 8, 1691, upon the condition of this colony, two "uitleggers" are mentioned (on the Demerara and on the Pomeroon), whilst the same Governor in his despatch of June 14, 1703, sends information that the number of "uitleggers" had been augmented by two, to wit, by one on the Mahaicony and one on the Cayouni; of the Barima, however, not a word is said, and this is not astonishing, because as early as 1685, the West India Company had publicly announced that they no longer wished to trade on the Orinoco.²

When the Pomeroon in the first half of the eighteenth century was almost completely given up, it is probable that the station-keeper or "uitlegger," who was established at the entrance of the river, was removed from thence to the mouth of the River Morocco or Moruca, a little more to the westward, and we also find this station mentioned in a good number of later documents and printed on some old maps.

On the map of Bouchenröder (1798), appear two military stations situated very close to one another, the one near the Pomeroon, and the other near the Moruca. This last, although (to judge from that map),

¹ Cf. Netscher, *Geschiedenis*, p. 92, last paragraph.

² Cf. *op. cit.* p. 95.

of very inconsiderable size, seems, nevertheless, as the most north-westerly post which was actually occupied, to have been of some importance. At least we read in Dalton,¹ that there in 1797 a serious attack of Spanish troops was successfully repulsed. Also we have discovered, in the Archives of the Government, a manuscript map, probably of about the middle of the eighteenth century, upon which the still more westerly River Wainy is assigned as the frontier;² but in not a single record of that time do we find mention of any post or military station further to the westward than the Wainy. It may be presumed that if the authorities in Essequibo had believed themselves to possess a definite right to the territory as far as the Barima, they would then have placed their most advanced frontier station at the mouth of the last-named river, and not at the Moruca.³

On what ground Major von Bouchenröder, in his map of 1798, has marked so positively the frontier of Essequibo near the Barima is to us inexplicable. We can ascribe it only to a desire to gratify the national pride of his lords and masters, the Government of the Batavian Republic. It cannot be the effect of a minute inquiry made on the spot, because we consider it to be certain that he never personally visited the district, as appears, amongst other reasons, from the circumstance that he, on this map, has christened the Amacura with the name of Barima and the Barima with the name of Amacura.⁴

From all this we venture to draw the conclusion that both the assertion of the English, that the Barima or the Amacura should be the frontier, and the representation of the Spanish (now Venezuela) that their territory extends as far as the Pomeroon or Essequibo, are alike incorrect, and that the Moruca, where stood during the whole of the eighteenth century the most westward station of the Dutch, must in all justice be considered as the frontier (on the sea coast) between Venezuela and what was formerly Dutch but is now called British Guiana. The fact that, at the mouth of the Barima river before 1680 there existed, perhaps for some short time, a Dutch post from Essequibo, which post was never afterwards occupied either by or in the name of the Dutch, cannot, as far as I can see, justify the British claim to this disputed territory. Otherwise, reasoning in this manner, the maps of many countries, specially in the regions beyond the seas,

¹ *History of British Guiana*, vol. i. p. 248.

² See also the map of Hartsinck's work.

³ We confess that we do not think much of this argument of Mr. Netscher's. The Dutch might easily have believed they had a just right to the whole coast, and yet have found it difficult to maintain a station so far off as the Barima. It is quite certain that the Dutch had *laid claim* to the Barima boundary more than a century before von Bouchenröder's map, though they may never have attempted to occupy the whole of their claim.

⁴ Hartsinck, as we have noticed above, has made the same mistake. Nay, in Thompson's chart of the coast of Guiana (Map No. 6 of the Blue Book), two rivers Amacura are marked one on each side of the Barima.

would have to wear a very different aspect from their present one. Concerning the further direction of the frontier from the Moruca towards the south, we believe that this in justice ought to run to the point where also, during the whole of the eighteenth century, a post-holder, or "uitlegger," was established on the Cayouni. It is, however, far from easy to determine this point with accuracy. The Governor of Essequibo, Samuel Beekman, says in his report to the Government, June 14, 1703, that this post at the Cayouni was situated "high up on the Savannah, at a distance of six weeks' sail from the fort Kijckoveral." These data are so indefinite, and the old maps of the interior are so superficial and incorrect, that we cannot perceive with certainty if this is the same point that is given on the map of Schomburgk. It is, however, also possible that this "uitlegger," in the beginning of the eighteenth century, was established higher up the river, but that he, always surrounded and threatened by gangs of Spanish gold-searchers and hostile Indians, after some years has drawn back to the point pointed out by Schomburgk.

The whole of the west frontier of the colony of Essequibo has never been defined accurately, and we have found, amongst other things in divers despatches of 1746-8 from the Commander of that time, Storm von 's Gravesande, to the Governors of the West India Company, constant allusions to this same matter. He was always complaining that he was annoyed by Spanish troops and Indians, who attacked the stations on the Cayouni and on the Moruca, as well as by Spanish missionaries, who established themselves upon our territory.¹ The King of Spain tendered regrets and apologies² to their "High Mightinesses," and promised that the matter should be remedied, but no treaty was ever made delimiting the frontier, and the irregular state of things continued.³

Now, without pretending to speak with any sort of authority on the subject, we may frankly confess that all that we have read both in the evidence of the Blue Book, and outside of it, seems to bear out Mr. Netscher's contention about the western limit of the actual occupation of territory by the Dutch. We are very far from agreeing with him in the deductions which he draws from the facts. If the Dutch never established themselves permanently higher up than the Moruca in the eighteenth century, the fact is in no sense a bar to the expansion of the

¹ Cf. *Geschiedenis*, pp. 118 and 382.

² Mr. Netscher might have added that in these negotiations the Dutch distinctly laid claim to "all the rivers and creeks which flow into the sea from the Essequibo to the Orinoco." This plainly appears from the report upon the complaint of the Dutch to the King of Spain by Governor Centurion in 1770. (Blue Book, p. 114.)

³ P. M. Netscher, *Geschiedenis van de Colonien Essequibo*, pp. 380-3. La Haye, 1888. For the translation of this and one or two other extracts we are much indebted to the kind assistance of a friend, the Rev. A. Van Thiel, S.J.

colony, later on, into a still unoccupied territory which for a hundred and fifty years the colonists had openly claimed as their own. But when it comes to saying with the Blue Book that the Dutch were "in uninterrupted possession" of the whole of this territory, then we can only await, as patiently as may be, the production of evidence, which may indeed exist, but which certainly is not contained in the volume before us.

We are glad to be done with this portion of our subject. The contention we have been discussing seems to us to weigh upon the British official statement like a sort of old man of the sea, crushing and stifling the life out of an otherwise sound and healthy case. It is pleasant to turn to the evidence which can be produced for the wide sphere of indirect influence exercised by the Dutch beyond the bounds of the territory actually occupied, an influence which, taken in conjunction with the public avowal of their intention of pushing and developing their settlements up to the Orinoco along the coast, and inland over all the country drained by the rivers which watered their colonies, attests in the strongest way their rejection of any prior claim on the part of Spain to the territory now in dispute.

The original charter of the Dutch West India Company differs from similar documents issued by Great Britain, and by the Dutch themselves at a later period, in containing no definite allotment of territory, but conferring what is practically a trading monopoly with a great part of Africa, and the whole continent of America.¹ Already, in 1632, certain Regulations made by the States General for the Company imply that an authoritative sanction had been given by the Dutch Government for the settlement of the Company's representatives along the

¹ "That within the terme of foure and twentie years none of the natives or inhabitants of these countries, otherwise than onely by the authoritie of the united Companie of these United Provinces, or from any other country, shall navigate or trafficke upon the coasts and lands of *Africa*, from *Topica* (sic) *Cancra*, until *Cabo de Bonna Esperanca*, neither upon the countries of America or West India, beginning from the south end of *Terra Nova* (Newfoundland) through the straight of *Magellanus le Maire*, or other straights or passages thereabout until the straight of *Anian*, as well upon the North or South Sea," &c. (English translation of "Orders and Articles Granted by the High and Mightie Lords the States General of the United Provinces concerning the erecting of a West India Companie," printed in 1621.) Even at this date geographers still had a ludicrously inexact idea of the configuration of the west coast of America. They believed that the American continent was divided from the regions of the far East beyond Japan by a narrow strait somewhere about the latitude of California, called the Strait of *Anian*.

coast, east of the Orinoco.¹ This was before the Treaty of Münster, and seeing that the claim of the West India Company seems therein to have been in some sense expressly contemplated and guaranteed, the point is important. As for the treaty itself, it is one of those documents which are bound to the end of time to be fertile in legal wrangles. Both sides will quote it, and it settles nothing. The fifth article of the treaty guarantees to Spaniards and Dutch alike the inviolable enjoyment of such places as they already "hold and possess," and it concedes further to the Dutch in particular such forts and places which the States General "shall chance to acquire and possess after this, without infraction of the present treaty." Obviously, in the Spanish idea the Dutch could not extend their possessions a foot in Guiana without encroaching upon territory already "held and possessed" by his Catholic Majesty, and consequently infringing the treaty. It is equally obvious that the Dutch maintained that this sort of possession of the continent in virtue of the Bull of Alexander VI. was a mere fiction, and that in any case the presence of the Dutch colonies at Surinam, Berbice, Essequibo, the Pomeroon, &c., constituted them possessors, in the sense of the treaty, of the whole coast from the Amazon to the Orinoco. We had hoped that the point might have been raised in the course of the long negotiations which preceded the Treaty at Münster and Osnabrück, but a rather hasty examination of the correspondence of the Spanish plenipotentiaries, which has been printed of late years in the *Colecion de Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de España*,² has led to nothing of any value. Amidst the weighty questions which were then agitating Europe, the possession of a few miles of the "wild coast" of South America must have seemed to the diplomatists an insignificant matter indeed.

Of the general tenacity of the Dutch in holding to the idea of the Orinoco boundary, we have plenty of illustrations. To speak only of seventeenth century documents; an official chart of the West India Company of about 1635, and the widely disseminated map of Blaeuw of 1640, both of them prior to the Treaty of Münster, colour the whole tract from Orinoco to Amazon, as Dutch. The grant made to Count Frederick Casimir of Hanau, in 1669, of thirty Dutch miles along the coast and one hundred inland, to be chosen by him anywhere within the

¹ Blue Book, p. 55.

² Vols. 82, 83, and 84 of the Collection.

limits just named,¹ is, if only from the publicity given to it, an important document, but what is even more striking, in discussing the difficulties and objections to the plan of colonization, the idea of interference from Spain is hardly alluded to.² The same complete ignoring of any title or claim of the Spaniards to this tract of coast comes out very prominently in Lefebvre de la Barre's *Description de la France Equinoctiale*. (Paris, 1666.) Speaking of the country from the Amazon to the Orinoco, he divides the whole into three portions, the last of which from the Marony to the Orinoco, he calls English³ and Belgian (*i.e.*, Dutch) Guiana, "because the English and Flemings have divers settlements there and are as it were the lords and masters thereof." He speaks of the English at Surinam (*c.* June, 1665), then of Berbice, "where the Dutch have been settled for twenty-five or thirty years past, but only a handful of them not exceeding two hundred." Then he says:

Next follow Essequibo and Barome, also occupied by the Dutch but not in great force. I do not know whether the English, availing themselves of the opportunity of the present war and of the enemy's weakness, will not have set on foot something against them since the month of June, 1665 [the date of his quitting the country]. And after the said river (Barome), we come to the Orinoco, which serves as a boundary to this Guiana of ours.⁴

¹ We may quote a part, only a part, of the title-page: "Gründlicher Bericht von Beschaffenheit und Eigenschaft, Cultivirung und Bewohnung, Privilegien und Beneficien dess in America zwischen dem Rio Orinoque und Rio de las Amazonas an der vesten Küst in der Landschaft Guiana gelegenen sich dreissig Meil wegs breit an der See und hundert Meil wegs an die Tieffe erstreckenden Strich Landes, welchen die Edle privilegirte West-Indische Compagnie der vereinigten Niederlanden mit Authentischer Schriftlicher Ratification und Permission der Hochmögenden Heeren Staten General au den hochgebohrnen, gegenwertig regirenden Herrn, Herrn Friedrich Casimir, Grafen zu Hanaw . . . ewig und erblich, unter gewissen in dieser Deduction publicirten Articuln, den 18 Julii, 1669, cedirt und überlassen hat." This is the form in which this document appears in the *Diarium Europæum*, a sort of periodical, or "Annual Register," at Frankfort. (Theil, xix. 1673.)

² Spain is just mentioned in the third difficulty, but it is clear that the author thought that attack from that quarter was a danger which would frighten no one. It would be easy to quote much similar evidence. Cf. *Beschrijvinge van Guiana*, a dialogue printed in 1676, p. 13.

³ La Barre wrote at a time when the English, during the Dutch War, were trying to wrest part of Guiana from their rivals, and actually for some few years were in possession of Surinam.

⁴ P. 25. There can be no doubt we think that by Barome, which appears more than once, La Barre intends to designate the Pomeroon. In Blaeuw's map it appears as Paurom, and in the *West Indische Paskaert*, of 1635, as Pauroma. Seeing that the Barima in the same map is written Paryma, it is obvious that there might easily be danger of confounding Baroma and Barima, in documents that were at all carelessly copied.

In the whole account of this region the Spaniards are not even mentioned, a striking testimony, as it seems to us, to the weakness and apathy of their rule at this period.

Whatever may be the truth about the Dutch post on the Barima, whether it was given up in 1683, or whether it continued there until the eighteenth century, its maintenance for even a few years, which Mr. Netscher does not dispute, affords good evidence as to the serious character of the Dutch claims. That the West India Company on discontinuing their commerce with the Orinoco, should have withdrawn their outpost at the mouth, cannot surely be pleaded as a renunciation of the entire territory, otherwise the Spaniards in moving San Thomé further up the river, must also be held to have forfeited any right they possessed to its lower waters.

We must be satisfied with having thus given some indication of the position of the Dutch in Guiana in the seventeenth century. The Spaniards at this date seem to have attempted little or no interference of any sort. In the century which followed, the relations between the contending Powers became more actively hostile, and at the same time much too complicated to be described here in any but the most general terms. There can be little doubt, we think, that the change which came over the state of affairs, was due to the aggressiveness and the unscrupulous commercial energy of the Dutch. The Spanish commanders at San Thomé would have been only too happy to leave the coast from the Barima to the Amazon to the new settlers. But their settlements on the coast would not content them. They were bent on pushing their trade with the natives, they wanted above all things, slaves for their plantations. It was just at this time that a great development of missionary enterprise took place among the Spaniards in these regions. Capuchins of more than one province, Jesuits, Observants, and Dominicans, vied with each other in bringing the Indians to live in Reductions, and colonized in this way the banks of many tributary streams which flow into the Orinoco, from both north and south. It is natural to uncivilized man to hate and resent the efforts made to bring him to a life of industry and self-restraint; his contempt and anger burn fiercely against those who have been weak enough to yield to the missionaries' cajolements. Hence it needed but little judicious encouragement on the part of the traders of Surinam and Essequibo, to fan the angry passions of the Caribs into a flame, and to hurl whole tribes of marauders

upon the Reductions, to carry off the half civilized Indians and to sell them to the planters for slaves. The Dutch themselves took part in these expeditions. They sailed far up the Orinoco and its tributaries, the weak Spanish garrison at San Thomé being powerless to stop them, they traded and plundered and lent their countenance, if not their aid, to their savage allies, everywhere finding profit, and returning year after year to impoverish or in some way to molest the Spaniards and those under their protection. Such is the unanimous account of all the writers who knew the country, most of them missionaries, during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century. It would be easy to fill pages with the indignant denunciations of Fathers Caulin, Gumilla, Gilij, Cassani, and many more. There is plenty of similar evidence in the Blue Book itself, but we may quote a few passages from Father Cassani's¹ descriptions.

I do not like to say [he remarks], although it might be said without scruple, that the Dutch have for their ultimate aim, the destruction of the Roman Catholic religion. It is not that I give them the credit of being very zealous for their false sect, or mixture of false sects; but experience has constantly taught us that their god is avarice and money, and that their only solicitude is for commerce, which has made them rich. If the Catholic religion would have secured their interests, we should have seen them all Catholics in a year. Religion is not their ultimate object, and he who investigates their method of working, will find that their religion is a mere show, of which they make use, not to save themselves, but to save and augment their possessions. They do not treat religion as they ought to do, as a means to gain Heaven, our last end, and the welfare of their souls; but as a means to reach *their* final aim and only object, which in them is the gain of temporal interests and the advantage of their trade. For this purpose they offer the Caribs peace and friendship. In order to gain their good-will they assumed their character, and encouraged them in fierce, cruel, and inhuman deeds. The Dutch colonists came well supplied with all kinds of valuable merchandize, with negro slaves, with glass beads, with knives, scissors, and other objects of barter, but their ships were laden at the same time with arquebuses, pistols, and other firearms, with powder, balls, swords, and all the implements of war. With this merchandize of very different kinds they began their barter, giving in the commencement, gratuitously, some trifles of glass, and when they had inspired the Indians with a desire for such things, they made terms with them at their ease and began to form a league offensive and defensive, exchanging merchandize and glass beads for the products of

¹ *Historia del Nuevo Reyno de Granada* (1741), pp. 308, seq. To the intolerance of the Dutch in their settlements, Netscher (*Geschiedenis*, pp. 131, 184) bears witness.

the country; afterwards they increased the traffic and began to teach them the use of firearms, and to exchange small guns, powder, and balls for slaves, of those which the Caribs had formerly made in warring with other nations.

Father Cassani goes on to state that the Dutch soon found out that of all the Spanish settlements, the best field for attack was offered by the missions—

Which they imagined to be rich, and consequently full of plunder, and which on the other hand they saw to be defenceless, since the law of Christ, as they knew well, is one of gentleness, and instead of exciting men to cruelties, subdues and softens them. The Dutch further instigated the Caribs, by the calumny that the "reduced" Indians renounced their country and their liberty, submitting themselves to the Spaniards, of whom they were the willing slaves; a sufficient reason for chastising them as deserters of their national customs and traitors to their friends. The Dutch having obtained beforehand sufficient information, both of the situation of the settlements and of the number of the inhabitants, instructed the Caribs, and preparing a number of pirogues, put on board many of the most expert in discharging firearms, and others who were skilful with bows and arrows. . . . On one occasion they had for their captain a Dutchman, in guise of an Indian, naked and tattooed. . . . The whole territory of the mission was in flames, the Caribs most insolent and barbarous, were excited to madness by the support and the harangues of the Dutch.

It must not be supposed that these things rest upon the testimony of the missionaries only. A modern Spanish writer of high authority, C. F. Duro, a prominent member of the Real Academia de la Historia of Madrid, in his annotations upon Oviedo y Baños' *Historia de la Conquista y Población de la Provincia de Venezuela*,¹ confirms in the clearest terms this account of the close alliance between the Dutch and the Caribs, an alliance which continued over a long period of years. He describes how they instigated them to carry off the Indians of the Missions into slavery, selling the unfortunate captives to the Dutch. Indirectly, he says, this abominable practice led to some good results; for it weaned the Caribs from their cannibalism when they found that the living Indians brought in a handsome price to their captors, while the firearms which they often received in exchange led in time to the disuse of the old-fashioned weapons imbued with the dreaded *curare* poison.

It will be readily understood that these continual molesta-

¹ Vol. ii. p. 386.

tions on the part of the Dutch and their cruel allies ended in rousing the Spaniards to some extent from their inaction. In the course of the eighteenth century they transferred their capital once again higher up the Orinoco, they made more effectual efforts to secure the command of the river, they directed several expeditions against the Dutch outposts, they engaged for a while in a secret offensive and defensive alliance with Portugal, and they pushed on the work of the Reductions. All these things have left their traces in the documents printed in the Blue Book. But in the mass of details, for those who will carefully peruse the evidence, one or two facts stand out clearly. It is quite certain that the Spaniards never made any settlement within or even near to the Schomburgk boundary. It is certain that the Dutch did not in any way abate their pretensions to the control of the whole coast-line up to the Orinoco, and it may even fairly be said that they exercised a sort of suzerainty over the Caribs throughout the whole of Eastern Guiana. Again, there can be no doubt that the Spaniards practically accepted the claim of the Dutch to the upper waters of the Cuyuni, and adopted quite an apologetic tone with regard to the advance of their own missions. For those who base, as we do, the title to dominion upon conquest and occupation only, these facts prove all and more than all that can be needed.

With a few illustrations of the points just named, we may bring this paper to a close. Of the indisputable fact that Tumeremo marked the furthest advance of the missions, we have already spoken in our last article, and no more need now be said. With regard to the persistence of the Dutch in the claims they had previously made, it would be easy to quote direct evidence. No argument, however, to our mind can speak more strongly than the language universally employed about the constant development and extension of their territory. We have quoted before the words of Depons. We may supplement them here with the account of M. Bellin in 1763, an account based at least in part upon a Dutch work of F. M. Jeniçon.

I have given the name of Dutch Guiana to that part of the country where the Dutch have established themselves, and of which they are in actual possession, without pretending to pronounce upon the legitimacy of their title, and without wishing to prejudice the claim which their neighbours, the French and the Spaniards, may have upon those same countries in which we have seen the Dutch increasing and extending

their territory foot by foot, pushing their establishments forward as far as it was possible for them, according to the greater or less compliance which they find in their said neighbours. Accordingly, I assign the River Pomeroon as the limit of Dutch Guiana on the side of the Spaniards, and the River Maroni as the boundary on the side of the French.¹

We see no reason to question the truth of this constant advance in the limits actually occupied, and no reason why the Dutch should not frankly avow it. The real cause of the protest and resentment it excited among the Spaniards was not so much, we take it, regret for the extent of territory now in Dutch possession as alarm that each new outpost would become the point of departure of new marauding expeditions, advancing as they often did four or five hundred miles into the interior. As a matter of fact, no post of the Dutch ever was established outside the limit of one hundred Dutch miles from the coast which they had virtually claimed by the concession to Count Casimir of Hanau as far back as 1669, still less did any post encroach upon territory actually in occupation of the Spaniards.

The sort of suzerainty exercised over the Caribs is also a point to be taken into consideration. Though the Spaniards had made many Reductions of other Indians, the Caribs had in almost every case resisted their efforts at conciliation. "They are a very warlike people," says an English observer, "and they hate the Spaniards to a degree which words can scarcely express."² On the other hand, La Barre, as early as 1665, declares: "Of all the European nations, the natives are most attracted towards the Dutch, and, on the other hand, they dislike the English more than they do the French, whom they do not hate but whom they fear."³ The influence of the Dutch with the Caribs was certainly not exercised for good, but it was an important factor in the development of the colonies and is attested in a dozen different ways in the Blue Book.

We will only give one extract more, a passage from an American writer which lets us see how little had been done by Venezuela towards the civilization of the country south of the Orinoco even in 1818. This writer says:

The province of Guiana (Venezuelan) which lies on the south side of the Oronoko is at least a third greater in magnitude than all the

¹ *Description Géographique de la Guyane*, p. 103. Paris, 1763.

² Jeffreys, *Description of the Spanish Islands*, p. 2.

³ *Description de la France Equinoctiale*, p. 34. On this point also abundant evidence might be quoted. Cf. *Pertinente Beschrijvinge van Guiana*, 1676, a different book from the work of the same date quoted above.

rest put together, although it may be regarded as an uninhabited and even unexplored wilderness. Venezuela has two remarkable natural boundaries, the mouths of the Orinoco on the east and the lake of Maracaibo on the west.¹

And now, in taking leave of the subject, it may not be amiss to remind the reader that the Venezuelan boundary question is not, by a very long way, the only question of the sort still undecided among the different States which divide between them the southern continent of America. There is hardly a single Government which is not involved in more than one negotiation of this sort, though accidental circumstances have given exceptional prominence to the British dispute with Venezuela. A distinguished French explorer, writing in 1887, remarks of a place called Panoré on the left bank of the Amazon :

Petermann's map in six sheets, reproduced by Stieler, assigns Panoré to New Granada, and Taraquí to the Republic of Ecuador.

Columbia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Brazil all lay claim at the same moment to this portion of Uaupès. The country is in fact Brazilian.²

The real fact of the matter is, we believe, that chicanery of some sort is to the Spanish-American as the very air he breathes. He cannot exist without it, and what is true of individuals, is true of the body politic.

The Spanish-American [says an acute observer] is essentially litigious. He seems to be eternally on the watch to discover an opportunity to commence a lawsuit. He is passionately devoted to the war of the pen, and this passion, which means ruin to him, is the prey upon which a horde of rapacious quill-drivers batten and thrive. Their reputation only rises in proportion to the ingenuity they display in creating new issues or, in other words, in multiplying lawsuits by means of the lawsuits themselves. I say with all the sincerity and impartiality which has presided over the composition of this work, that there is no country in the world where there are so many lawsuits as in Spanish-America.³

It is nearly a century since these words were written, but it does not seem that things have changed much since then.

HERBERT THURSTON.

¹ Brackenridge, H. M. *Voyage to South America performed by order of the American Government in the years 1817, 1818, in the frigate Congress*, vol. ii. p. 236.

² H. Coudreau, *La France Equinoxiale* (1887), ii. p. 149.

³ Depons, *Voyage à la Terre Ferme*, i. p. 219.

The Conirostrals and near Neighbours.

IN this short notice I do not pretend to dress my birds exactly as nature dresses them, but to describe only their general look as seen flying. All of the family have strong conical beaks, and therefore have been named conirostrals. They are without doubt at the top of the tree for instinct and sense. First in order I will place the shrike, not because of its size, but on account of its strength and its love of flesh and blood as food, and because it shows in its hooked beak and sharp claws a development towards the hawks and owls. The legs of the shrike are black like those of the pies, its eyes look wild and cruel. When it catches a bird, with one blow it splits open the skull, fixes the body on a thorn bush and tears it to pieces, hence it is named the "butcher bird." We have three of this kind in England, the grey shrike with grey above and white breast, has a long patch of black feathers from the beak round the eye, below, and then on to the lower part of the head; this makes it look very fierce. This bird is seldom met with, but we have many of the lesser or red-backed shrike, with his chestnut-coloured back; also with a black patch about his eyes and head. Next in order I place the raven, now so scarce, though if allowed by the keepers there would be plenty, as they are very long-lived. I remember some years ago reading that a raven had just been taken in France, having a ring round its neck, with an inscription that it was the property of Lord Crawford, of the Royal Scotch Bodyguard, a regiment which has been unknown for a very long time. The plumage of the raven is the most inky black of all the race; he lives if he can on meat, but will take other kinds of food; for instance, I was told by the owner of the Steep Holmes, an island in the Bristol Channel, where ravens used to resort, that one year a sea-gull had its nest on a narrow ledge of rock, over which it partly projected, and that one or two ravens wishing to eat the eggs,

kept darting down on the gull, which was, however, able to protect itself: foiled in this they began to pick out the bottom of the nest until they caused the eggs to drop out, and caught and eat them before they touched the sea. In the Isle of Wight I remember seeing eight ravens at the same time flying round and round one another by the Undercliff, but when there for many months in 1888 I never saw one. Near Crediton, in Devon, years ago, I had two nests every year in my woods from which I have taken both eggs and birds. Since then the trees have been cut down. Ravens still live on Lundy Island and on the rocks near Lynton.

The crow is a very handsome bird, its coat is glossy green black, as the rook's coat is glossy purple black. I remember one night in the winter a flock of crows roosted in some oaks near my house, when after rain a frost came on: in the morning, when the crows, disturbed by the farmer, left their trees, which were on the edge of a wood, they all fell down on the meadow to his great astonishment, who found that their wings were frozen to their backs. I must not forget to notice the clever little jackdaw, with his grey cap and happy-go-lucky laugh; he loves the hollows of old trees, ruined buildings, or a church tower; in one of these last-named places two jackdaws placed their nest on a stair leading up to the bells, but the birds found that it was in danger of falling over to the stair below; to prevent this our daws built up from the lowest step a pile of sticks until they could place the last sticks firmly under their nest. The grey, or hooded crow, is a cousin of those I have written about; he is rare in the west, but not so in the east of England. I never met with any, but have seen a flock of them feeding among the sea-weed at Dinard, in Brittany, their plumage red-grey with a black hood above. There is another crow with long red beak and legs, having a slim figure, and a voice like a rook with a sore throat; he lives by the sea and lodges in its highest cliffs: this is the chough once very numerous in Cornwall, and hence also known as the Cornish chough; they are now scarce everywhere, but a few may be seen in Lundy Island, and about Hangman's Hill, near Lynton. We all know the jay, with its harsh chatter and beautiful barred blue wings, also the dark purple and white starred starling, another friend of the farmer's and an enemy to no one; he feeds on all kinds of insects, including ticks, which he may be often seen picking out of the wool while standing on a sheep's back.

Starlings are very sociable, especially at roosting-time. I was told by a friend in Devonshire that one evening when shooting on the shore of the Ley, he observed many starlings perched on the tall reeds near the water; these being disturbed, fled to reeds further on and mingled with those who were there before. Again he disturbed them, and all flew onwards and so to the end of the lake, when all flew up together in so thick a cloud that his shot brought down enough to fill a good hamper. Again, near Clevedon, I watched unobserved, one evening, the incoming of starlings from three quarters of the heavens. They all pitched on some low trees and bushes just below a wood of lofty oaks. When all were seated they began to talk to one another, causing a noise that any one might have mistaken for a steam-engine at a railway station blowing off its steam.

What shall I say of the magpie? He dresses in black and white, has a very long tail, and being a great thief, thinks that others may be the same, so he likes to see all around him, and builds his nest high up in a tree, and when built arches it over with an open crown of thorns, through which he can see well, but which will prevent any birds when from home stealing his eggs, for there is no way in or out save two small rather long passages amongst the thorns, and through which a stranger bird could not carry the eggs, and if he eat them inside, the chances are he would never get out himself without a good thrashing. The golden oreole, or yellow blackbird, now and then visits us; I knew of a nest of this bird in an orchard in the parish of Poughill, in Devon, and I saw and purchased another year at Southampton a golden oreole that had been killed in the New Forest. This bird is nearly all clothed in bright yellow, except the wings and tail, which are black. Most people know the black ousel, or blackbird, whose song as that of the thrush is so often heard on our lawns: nothing can be more restless than the blackbird, while the thrush loves to sit on the middle branches of a tree and pour forth its clear soft notes; he is tamer than the blackbird; he will run up to our windows looking for his food. Far more wild than the blackbird is the ring-ousel, plumed in dull black, with a white collar round his neck; he loves the wild moors and waters; he breeds on Dartmoor, and places his nest under a balder stone or cleft in a rock, while the little plump water-ousel lives near running streams: he can, and does, run under water with the greatest ease in quest of food. I once

put my hand into the dome-shaped, and moss-built nest, of a water-ousel when it was full of young birds; this disturbed them so, that most of them I may say, fell out into the stream below; there I could see them with outstretched wings swimming under water to the farther side of the brook and creeping up the bank for shelter as if it was a usual thing for them to do, I being aware that they had never left the nest before. This ousel is dark slate black with a white collar and breast. Our winter thrushes, the fieldfare and redwing, which used to come over in great flocks, have greatly decreased in numbers in the west. The redwing is very like a smaller thrush.

I think I am not very wrong to place that "nonconformist" bird, the kingfisher, next on my list; his head is like that of a crow, his body more fit for a sparrow, and his tail like the water-ousel; he is a land bird, for he does not swim or float on the water, but he can plunge into it like the solan goose, and sit over it like a cormorant. He cannot run by it like a wader or a wagtail, but likes his fish better than a worm. The kingfisher has a wide gape like a swallow, but a strong pointed bill, his legs and feet are of a red colour and formed for standing rather than running, the shape of the bird is clumsy, the head being too large in proportion to the body, but the lovely azure of his head and back gives him the look of a sunbeam when flying over the water on his ever straight course, uttering his shrill piping note; his under plumage is chestnut. He leads a solitary life, is pugnacious, but a good fisherman, seldom missing his aim when he darts under water after a fish. Kingfishers lay their eggs at the end of a rat or mole hole on a river bank; they are white and perfectly round in shape; those I found being deposited on a bed of small fishbones. The scansores or climbers must next be noticed. Of these the green woodpecker is the most beautiful and the largest in England, its legs are very short, having two toes forward and two toes behind; it is almost clothed in green, with dull whitish breast feathers, has a patch of golden and bright green just over the tail and a crimson head; it can, we may say, run up and down the tall trees, being always on the wrong side when you are looking for it. On the ground it jumps from place to place two or three feet at a time; its bill is large and strong, so that it can make a long and round hole in a tree, in which its white eggs are laid. Some think that this does injury to the timber, but this is not the case, for it feeds on the insects living in the

decayed parts of the trees, but not in the sound timber. The cry of the woodpecker is loud and harsh, uttered mostly when it is flying from place to place ; its flight is a series of undulations in the air. In West Somerset the people call it the gert green laffer.

The pied or spotted woodpecker is marked with white and rich black, having also bits of red on the head and near the tail feathers ; he comes into the woods early in the spring before the leaves come out, and the wood lichens and moss and bark on an old oak are so like the woodpecker and he is so like them, that unless he moved I never could distinguish between them ; he too likes to hunt for insects and their grubs in the trees, and with his strong beak he can hammer so loud and swiftly that the rattle may be heard at a great distance. The least of the woodpeckers is called the barred or least spotted woodpecker ; it may often be observed, and is in most respects like its larger relative.

The task of observing these various dwellers in the woodlands, though imposing no little labour, brings its own reward, in the charming scenes to which it introduces us. Here, for instance, is one that dwells in my memory.

A bright November day had nearly set in crimson and gold when I placed myself by the side of a woodland bank covered with ivy and dead leaves, for the purpose of witnessing the consequent return and exit of the various inhabitants of the covert. The wind was hushed, so that you could hear the rustle of the falling leaves, as red, yellow, and dark brown they fell from beech, oak, and elm. Now and then there came distant sounds of horsemen or wheels as farmers and gentry returned from the market town. The quivering of a spray told that a redbreast had finished his song and in company with a wren was seeking his roost ; almost at the same time a squirrel from a neighbouring thicket sprang on an oak-tree and from thence up the branches of a Scotch fir to his curiously built nest ; he was almost immediately followed by a wood-pigeon, who rested on the highest branch of a lofty bare ash, from whence he watched three more of his brethren pursued by a sparrowhawk, whose long wings I feared would overtake one of them ere he could quit the wood. I saw not the end of the chase, but fancy it made the bird on the ash-tree turn round and fly in an opposite direction. Hardly had this taken place when, with a rush and a bound, up started a hen pheasant into

a larch-tree, from whence she kept climbing up and down until she could find a comfortable bough on which to rest ; she was followed by another and another, and then all was still. Now I had time to look at the quarter in which the sun had set. This was chequered with the dark branches of forest trees on whose stems moss and ivy hung luxuriantly, but beautiful as they were behind them, the sky was still more beautiful. Pale silver, golden red, salmon colour, carmine and amethyst melted one into the other until they were followed by a cold grey, which shrouded the horizon and distant hills. Turning my head from this glorious scene, I saw drop noiselessly from a dark fir to the bare branch of a young sycamore a solemn brown owl, who after looking all round and stretching himself, flew quietly round the wood, and then came back to an old pollard oak just over my head ; here he rested some time, and I listened to the first rise of a cock pheasant, who directly gave his crow and was answered by several others. The owl then began to move, first flying to a neighbouring elm-tree, then mounting up and down its branches, now standing on tip-toe, then twisting its head round and round, peering at me in the dusky light, without being able to make me out friend or foe ; he may have thought me a foe, as he soon made off, and I saw him no more. My attention was now roused by the noise made by more cock pheasants who began flying and crowing from all quarters, whilst a flock of crows soon mingled their voices with the blackbirds, whose clatter clatter resounded far and near. This pleasant melange continued for some time, then suddenly ceased, and rising, I first observed the clear, cold moon warning me that night had come.

C. NOEL WELMAN.

A Modern Achates.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Wrapt in a sheet of flame, the castle blazed.—*Longfellow.*

THE *tableaux* were over, but it was little more than eleven o'clock, and the guests re-assembled in the drawing-room, to talk over what they had just seen, until presently the carriages came round, and several of the neighbours took leave; the others were mostly inclined to linger, and though Mrs. Fitzgerald retired early, it was long after twelve when the other ladies rose.

As they went upstairs, Mrs. Glennington called Sybil to come with her to her room.

Cora looked plaintively to Lillas. "May I come with you?" she said. "There is no one sleeping on our floor besides me and Sybil, and it will be so lonely till she comes."

"Come, by all means, dear," said Lillas. "Good night, Sybil." But after the latter had turned away, Lillas changed her mind. "I will come to your room, Cora," she said, "and wait with you until Sybil comes. Otherwise you would hardly know when she went upstairs, and it would be so lonely for you to find your way through all those long, dark passages."

So they turned back accordingly, and without meeting any of the guests, arrived safely in Cora's room. Here, settling themselves in comfortable arm-chairs, they began rather sleepily to discuss again the evening's amusements.

"How stifling the room is," said Lillas, at last, after a little silence, "and I wonder what can have become of Sybil. Why, what is that, Cora?" as a sudden loud muffled sound was heard below. "Who can be ringing the gong at this hour? Listen, there it is again."

Cora looked rather frightened. "O Lily! can it be thieves—or fire?"

"Oh, surely not," said Lillas, startled. "I will go and see. Why, how dim the light is—and the room is full of smoke.

We must have been asleep," and she rose hurriedly and opened the door.

Once in the passage, there was no room for doubt. The air was closer and more suffocating, pervaded with a strong, pungent odour, which Liliás recognized as burning wood, while a muffled, crackling sound could be heard below, somewhere she thought in the direction of the green-room. She went cautiously down a few steps, with the intention of calling her cousin Charley, whose room was on the first landing; but the door was open, and Charley absent, lingering, it might be, with the other guests in the billiard-room, or, may be, gone to seek assistance. She leaned over the balusters to catch a glimpse of the vestibule below, but the smoke rose upwards in thick clouds, the crackling sounds grew louder and more frequent, and she turned pale with sudden terror as she caught the outline of the green-room door standing partly ajar, and showing a broad line of brilliant light—flame undoubtedly—from the room within.

Liliás stood still for a moment, considering hurriedly the best course to pursue. She was frightened, but she had not lost her nerve. Had she been alone, her path would have been clear. The staircase, swathed in smoke, still led to safety. But every moment would increase the difficulty. The vestibule, panelled and floored with wood, was crowded, like the green-room itself, with combustible materials: draperies, scenes, and all kinds of stage furniture. Shavings even lay about in heaps, the token of late hasty alterations; and the staircase and passage were alike narrow and tortuous: while the single lamp was dying out, lurid and indistinct, the rather for the atmosphere of smoke which became momentarily more dense. A nervous path just then to tread—even for one resolute as Liliás—but Cora must tread it also: Cora, whose anxious voice was even now calling her back, and who, at once timid and excitable, would too surely shrink from such an ordeal.

And yet there was no other means of egress. The tower was separated from the main building by a thin wall only, but its sole means of communication lay through the vestibule, and thence, by a long passage, to the hall; and for this, one must pass through the dense smoke, nay, past the very scene of the disaster. There was, however, no time to think or ponder—it must be done. The thought passed vividly through the girl's mind, and turning hastily, she regained the room, where Cora, white and trembling, stood on the threshold. Liliás put her

arm round her, speaking gently yet firmly, leading up cautiously to what she had to say, yet her white set face betraying her fear.

"You must not be afraid, dear Cora, but I think the green-room is on fire. It is safe at present," as Cora gave a little cry, "but it may not be so long. The vestibule is full of smoke, but Charley will bring help, I doubt not. It was he, I think, who rang the gong. But I want you, Cora, to be very brave and good—to make it easier for him to help us. Come with me—the stairs are safe—you will try, dear, will you not?" as Cora shrank and shivered. "A good, brave little girl, that Aunt Julia may be proud of! You will come at once? there is no danger now—none whatever." And she would fain have drawn her forward; but Cora held back!

"Oh, no—*no*—wait—wait! Reggie will come for us."

"If he knows our need. We must help ourselves, dearest."

For one moment it almost seemed as if her energy and self-possession had braced the weaker nature of her cousin. Cora still trembled violently, but she allowed Liliás to lead her down—a few steps only. Short as had been the delay, the smoke had thickened, and the turn of the stairs whence Liliás had looked but a few moments since, now showed Cora not only the line of light round the green-room door, but ever and anon a leaping flame that passed the precincts, lighting up with cruel vividness the narrow vestibule through which they had to pass, and clothing it with some danger and greater terror.

Cora's slightly-strung nerves gave way at once, and shaking herself free, she rushed back to her own room, and sank down upon the sofa in a passion of tears.

Liliás sat down beside her, soothing the childish sobs, and cheering the weak heart, with her own brave words. Then, when the sobs grew calmer, she entreated her again to follow her. "We can come back, if we find it is impossible," she said. "O Cora, think how much depends upon it," and she would have risen, but Cora held her fast.

"Liliás—Liliás—I *cannot*. Oh, why does not Reggie come? It is very, *very* cruel."

Alas, alas, why did he *not* come? Why did not some one come? The cry had arisen already in Liliás's heart, even though it had not passed her lips. "Dear Cora, he may come yet," she breathed; "but we are losing time," and she again strove to induce her cousin to make at least an attempt to

escape. But in vain : Cora clung to her helpless, immovable—unable in her excessive terror to stir hand or foot.

Lilias saw that it was useless, and desisted from further supplication. "Then let us pray," she said, quietly, and kneeling beside the agitated girl, she flung her arms round her, and prayed fervently for help.

The minutes passed : each seemed an age to both ; each as it sped seemed to render aid more hopeless. Yet the silence was broken now by other sounds than the dull roar, the horrid crackling of the fire. They could hear a stir and bustle in the house : the shouts and cries of a crowd outside ; voices calling to each other ; and, above all, the clang of the great bell, as it rang out its summons for aid. All alert, all eager : and yet no one had remembered them, who could, alas, no longer help themselves. How long they remained thus, Lilias never knew. The moments seemed to drag like hours in the suspense. Twice she sprang to her feet and called loudly for help. Cora wept and sobbed in silence. The noise of engines could now be distinguished, but the fire still seemed to increase. Dense clouds of smoke rolled past the window : a lurid glow mingling with the pale moonlight, and white sheets of vapour, as water was poured upon the flames, which all too surely had burst their bounds, and were spreading rapidly. Then suddenly, through all the other sounds, the girl's ear, strained and anxious, caught one which seemed once again to waken hope within her—the sound of one struggling and striving in the vestibule below.

Then came a creaking, as of a man's step, light but yet not swift, upon the stairs. She thought she heard her name called, but the voice was hoarse and half stifled, and she did not recognize it. Fain would she have risen and rushed to meet him who was thus coming through risk and peril to save them ; but Cora had by this time fainted, and lay lifeless in her arms : so she could only cry aloud imploringly for help. The voice answered eagerly : the steps came on again, nearer and still nearer, until they stopped outside.

Another call, another answer, choked and uncertain. Then the door burst suddenly open, and Edmund sprang into the room. His face was very pale, rigid even to sternness, his eyes flashing with a strange wild light.

Lilias clasped her hands in a rush of mingled feeling, as she recognized the man who had fought his way through smoke and

flame to save them. Then she pointed impulsively to Cora. "Mr. Charlton," she exclaimed; "save my cousin."

He did not answer; but for one brief instant it seemed that he recoiled, as if in doubt or in dismay. There was no time to lose. A short while and nothing would remain but crumbling ruins; and he looked at the two fair girls before him, with a terrible struggle in his heart. To leave Liliás—to risk so much, and yet to lose her after all—to leave her whom he had come to save!

Liliás's voice, calm, stern almost, broke the spell that bound him. "If you would aid us, save Cora. I cannot, will not, leave her *thus*."

"Liliás! Liliás! you know not what you ask."

The cry broke in agony from his lips: his face, white and despairing, was turned to hers; but his resolve was on the instant taken: and even as he spoke, he took Cora from her arms, and throwing the heavy plaid which he had brought with him around her, rushed fearlessly down the stairs, through the smoke and flame that swathed them. He heeded not the hot breath of the fire—the sense of suffocation which assailed him: to save Cora; to return to Liliás; to rescue or to die with her—these were the thoughts which rose vividly to his mind, whilst his voiceless prayer rose passionately from his heart.

A few minutes of fearful struggle were succeeded by a sense of sudden, swift relief, encountering the cool air of the main building, on which the engines were still playing. Half blinded with the smoke, exhausted by the terrible exertion, his clothes singed and smouldering, he almost fell against Mr. Seaham, who, with several others, was hastening to his aid.

The fire had been discovered, as Liliás had supposed, by Charles Montague, who on his way to his room, after smoking rather late, had been alarmed by a strong smell of burning which came from the green-room. Hastily opening the door, he saw that some draperies had taken fire, blown by the draught, it was afterwards supposed, against a lamp left inadvertently alight, and the flame spreading to other objects no less inflammable, had rapidly become insurmountable. Seeing this at a glance, thinking only how to save the rest of the building, and unaware that there were other occupants of the tower rooms, he had rushed back into the vestibule, forgetting in his consternation to shut the door of the green-room, and finding his way to the hall, now dark and deserted, had given the alarm

by repeated peals of the gong. The effect had been almost magical. Before many moments had passed, the gallery had been filled with frightened guests in various stages of *deshabille*. Reginald, who was always, to use his own expression, "in the thick of the fun," came tearing down from the upper floor, to which his bachelorhood, his late acceptance, and perhaps above all his intimacy with the family, had consigned him. His first surprise over, he inquired eagerly for his mother, his first care in every circumstance, and half her anxiety, on the other hand, seemed to vanish when she was once assured of his presence and safety. Still she could not be persuaded to remain quietly where she was, and most of the other ladies were of her opinion, some from fear and some from curiosity.

In vain Sir Ralph and Reginald argued and entreated, she would not be convinced. The fire being as yet confined entirely to the west wing, left the main building still untouched; engines were every moment expected from the village; water was abundant, and close at hand: there could not possibly be any immediate danger.

"I can't help it, Reggie," she said, with a plaintive air of remonstrance. "I had rather catch my death of cold, any day, than be burnt alive. And I don't believe we're safe a bit. I *don't*, Reggie."

"Madame, I give you my word for it," said the Baronet, somewhat testily; but he might as well have spoken to the winds. And meanwhile the other ladies, headed by his own daughter Adelaide, had returned to their rooms, to arrange their toilettes for an immediate adjournment to the open air.

Lady Seaham had not at first identified the tower as the scene of the catastrophe; but she was speedily enlightened.

"It is quite a mercy," said Mrs. Gletherton, white and scared at the thought, "that I called dear Sybil to me; and, somehow, I had lost my keys, and she stayed a bit to help me. Only think, poor dear child, if she had been in the west tower when the fire broke out."

"The west tower!" cried Lady Seaham. "They told me it was in the smoking-room. Good Heavens! what will become of Cora Devereux!" and she was going to rush forward to give orders, which were already, probably, too late, when Sybil stopped her.

"Lady Seaham, I think that Cora is not there. She went with Lilies to her room. She was to wait there till I came upstairs."

"If so, she is safe, thank God," said Lady Seaham, with intense relief; then, turning to a frightened maid: "But, Morris, you had better go and see if Lady Liliás is aware of what has happened, and advise her to keep Miss Devereux with her."

The maid turned hastily to obey, followed by Sybil.

Reginald, who was waiting for his mother, now came quickly up to Lady Seaham. "Lady Seaham, I see nothing of Liliás. Which way does her room lie?"

"Quite in the east wing. I have sent word to her, poor child. It is a shame to frighten her. She looked thoroughly worn out to-night. Cora Devereux is with her."

"Worn out, did you say, Lady Seaham? I thought Liliás had nerves of iron," said the Earl. "Still, it is as well to warn them."

And then his mother joined them, pale and inclined to be hysterical, and he led her down into the garden, where an excited crowd was gathering fast: not guests alone, but assistants from the village—the engines having just arrived. Voices were calling to each other, in terrified inquiry, whilst single figures were moving rapidly from one group to another, each seeking some one near and dear. The excitement, the confusion, the advent of so many strangers, the shrouded, muffled figures of the women, made their task more difficult, while those who had their own friends round them, were still anxious for the safety of the rest.

As Reginald led his mother towards them, Charley Montague and Edmund Charlton came hastily up to them, both a little breathless from recent exertions.

Charley was the first to speak. "I say, Gletherton, this is a *nice* go! It's a good thing it was so soon found out, or the whole place would have been ablaze. As it is, the west tower must go; but I trust nothing else. Those engines are working splendidly." Then, recognizing the Earl's shrouded companion: "It is a pity you came out, Mrs. Fitzgerald; you'll be ill to a certainty!"

"Where are you off to, Charley?"

"We are in search of stray sheep—you and your party included. I knew you would be all right, but Charlton here was in a perfect frenzy—and, even now, I don't see Liliás!"

"She is with Cora, in the east wing. Lady Seaham has

sent to her; but if you will take my mother to the summer-house, I will go back and bring them here."

Mrs. Fitzgerald, however, clung resolutely to his arm, and refused absolutely to be parted from him.

"Lady Seaham will bring them," said Charley, laughing, "or perhaps Charlton won't object to meet and convoy them, though, excepting for the crowd, there is not much to alarm them."

Mr. Charlton, whose anxiety lay deeper than his friend's, readily assented, and was already turning away, when Charley called him back. "I wish you would take this plaid to Sybil, if you meet her. If she must come out, she will find it cold, and she has been coughing this last day or two like anything."

Edmund caught it as it was thrown to him, half impatient at the delay—little thinking how soon he should require it. Then, as Reginald and his mother moved away, he turned hastily towards the house, and was standing in the hall, half uncertain where to go, when Sybil saw and sprang to meet him. Her white face was a shock to him, it seemed so full of horror and dismay: while Morris, who accompanied her, more outwardly moved even than her mistress, wept audibly, and wrung her hands with frantic gestures of despair.

"Oh, thank Heaven, that you are come, Mr. Charlton. You will tell us what to do," cried poor Sybil, rushing forward and clinging wildly to his arm, while the maid, a warm-hearted Irishwoman, flung herself on her knees, entreating him that he would save those dear—sweet—young ladies from such a frightful death.

The whole scene lasted but a moment. It was over before Mr. Charlton had time to recover from the sharp, swift presentiment that told him at once and truly who it was that he was called upon to save. Then he released himself from Sybil's grasp, and gasped rather than uttered the name of Liliass.

"Liliass and Cora—both of them—in the west tower: the room above the theatre. O Mr. Charlton! go to them and help them—a *man* can do so much." Then, as she marked his agonized glance: "It's all my fault. I said that they were safe."

It was only afterwards that Sybil recalled to herself the strange, solemn earnestness of his tone.

"What man *can* do for your cousin shall be done. Meanwhile wait here—and pray for her. Which room is it?"

"Upon the second floor—to the left. O Heaven, help you!" as he rushed away.

"Pray for her," he had said, thinking of one only—probably, in his passionate fear and love for Lillas, the name of Cora had not even reached his ear. Sybil sank upon her knees on the landing, burying her face in her hands, sobbing and praying, and waiting for his return: but with presence of mind to despatch the weeping Morris for further assistance—"for Mr. Seaham—Charley—*any* one, if possible, rather than Reginald."

After more than ten minutes' terrible suspense, Edmund reappeared, pale, breathless, with Cora senseless in his arms.

Friends were already on the spot, but as he laid his burden at Sybil's feet, and pointed back in the direction whence he had come, he felt that it would be impossible for him to bring Lillas that way, even if he should be able to rejoin her. He could hardly speak, but a few disconnected words fell from him: "Ladders . . . the north side . . . the only way." And before they answered, he was gone.

As his steps died away, Charley Montague carried Cora to her cousin's room: while Mr. Seaham hurried out again to bring the necessary aid.

A faint report was already circulating amongst the crowd below, so vague and undefined that no one could be found to credit it, but the mere notion was agony to Reginald—terrible to his mother, though, self uppermost as usual, she still kept him by her side, with hysteric sobs and prayers that he durst not disobey.

"Mother, it is *cruel* to keep me! Do you hear what they are saying?" he uttered, passionately. "My sister *shall* not die unhelped."

"Reginald! Reginald!" shrieked his mother. "Stay with me, I command you—I cannot lose you both," and she clung to his hand with all the strength that she possessed, with voice and look so agonized that it really seemed as if to leave her would have driven her mad.

Sir Ralph laid his hand on Reginald's shoulder. There were tears in his eyes, and his words came hoarsely: "Reginald, my poor boy—this is terrible for you; but you must not leave your mother, thus. Charlton has already gone to save your sister. Heaven help them both!" he added, as he viewed the glancing, leaping flames, and heard the dull, heavy crash which

told too surely of the wreck and ruin which was going on in the burning tower.

But Reginald only shuddered, and a strong cry rose upward from his heart, for his sister and his friend.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Love give me strength and strength shall help afford.—*Shakespeare.*

There was silence deep as death,
And the strongest held his breath
For a time.—*Campbell.*

AND meanwhile what of Lilius?

Still and stern as a marble statue she had watched Edmund and Cora as they disappeared from sight. Should she *follow* or should she stay? She glanced towards the unshuttered window and the strange sight held her spelled. How red the sky was, with a strange, unearthly glare: how awful the bright fire-flashes as they shot up through the curling smoke. She could hear the sullen roar, the slow crumbling of the stones, the fierce crackling of the wood, the hissing of the water contending vainly with the flames. A shudder of horror at her solitude came over her; a wild fear also for her cousin and her friend.

The sound of footsteps on the stairs had ceased; strain as it might her ear could catch no sound; no *human* sound, thank God! not even a cry. Were they then *safe*, and could she try to follow them? not wait, and bring *him* back a second time through all this peril?

She stole out into the passage and looked along the fiery path, which alone it seemed could lead to safety. It was terrible indeed to gaze upon; worse many times than when she last had stood there, a brief quarter of an hour before. The smoke, rising in long, thick, mirky wreaths, was in itself a peril; the suffocating atmosphere made her reel and stumble, and warned her how worse than useless it would be to attempt that path alone. She must be brave and wait. *He* had told her so, and he knew best.

She went back slowly to her room and closed the door; shutting out as far as possible the dread sights and sounds below: then sinking on her knees she tried to pray. It was a strange prayer: a prayer we pray but once perhaps in all our lives: the tears coursed down her cheeks, her lips moved; her

heart rose in one wild supplication ; whilst to her mind, like a vivid dream, came the recollection of the faults and follies of her life ; all were unsparingly remembered now, when the time seemed past to make amends for them ; and still each instant the narrow circle grew more narrow, the suffocating heat more unendurable. The crumbling ruins seemed to crumble faster ; and death seemed to draw nearer to her, as the flames leapt up and caught the wood-work of the casement, brightening the whole room with the lurid, fitful glare. Her hands fell before her, her eyes closed, a deadly faintness seemed gathering over her ; and then, once again, steps were heard approaching ; slower and with greater difficulty than before. In another moment, through the dimness and the darkness and the torpor that had fallen upon her, she felt rather than saw that Edmund was standing beside her. She could not speak, she could hardly even see him, for her eyes were dim with tears ; and the dense smoke with which the room had been gradually filling entered now in thick volumes in the wake of her deliverer. She felt his arm thrown round her, raising her from her knees, and half leading, half carrying her to the door : she heard the low, choked but earnest voice, thank Heaven that he was not too late : and she nerved herself to be a help, and not a hindrance to him, to meet with a heart as steadfast, if not as daring, as his own, the fearful perils which she felt were still to come. But when they reached the staircase, the sight of the danger which confronted her, the danger that he had braved already for her sake, appalled even her brave spirit, and she shrank back involuntarily.

"Oh ! Mr. Charlton, it is not possible," and, even as she spoke, a burst of flame shot upward ; the very floor on which they stood, seemed to shake beneath their weight ; and he caught her to him hurriedly, lifting her in his arms, as if he dreaded even an instant's shrinking or delay, when time had become so precious.

"It is only a few steps, Lady Liliass ; cover your face and trust to me. I hope, in Heaven, I may still save you !" he said, passionately ; and then he bore her in his arms (with greater difficulty, with greater pain, than she could fathom) to a window opposite, the deep recess of which, he hoped, might offer them a temporary refuge.

It was thither that he had directed the ladders to be brought ; and now, throwing open the sash, a high, old-fashioned case-

ment, he stood beside her, on the wide, high window-seat ; waiting with beating heart until the promised succour should arrive.

Oh ! how long those minutes seemed ; whilst the ladders were being tied together ; and the flames streamed ever more brightly into the cool night air. By this time Mrs. Fitzgerald had fainted, and Reginald seeing her in proper care, sprang to help his sister. The ladder was fixed ; the rope already in Edmund's hand ; but the flames were close upon him. He felt their scorching breath upon his arm as he drew the heavy plaid more closely around Liliās. The wood-work upon which they stood swayed horribly ; the walls were tottering even now ; they could not last much longer. He had fastened the rope round the girl's waist, linking it rapidly but firmly. The moment was an awful one. The shouts and warnings came surging up from below ; the groups of anxious faces were distinctly visible : the flames grew every instant fiercer.

"Liliās, my darling ! Oh ! my love, my love.—My *God*, take my life, if so Thou wilt, but help me to save *hers*."

Liliās thought she heard these words upon his lips, forced huskily from them, by emotion beyond control. His arm was still round her, and one hand held the ladder fast against the charred and crumbling walls. He whispered words of hope and comfort ; and brave, high-hearted as himself, she drew away from him, and stepped upon the ladder. There was little danger now for her. If the ladder slipped or dizziness assailed her, the rope was round her waist, and *he* was holding it. But for *him*. Oh ! it was *horrible* to leave him thus, when death was near, and every moment might be fatal to him.

"Heaven help you ! Heaven guard you !" The words faltered on her lips, as his hand was drawn lingeringly away, and she passed slowly out of reach. He still watched her, letting the rope slip gradually through his hands, as he felt the increasing strain upon it. The height was dizzy, but her eyes were all too dim to see. It was best so. The shouts grew clearer, the faces closer to her. Reginald sprang up the ladder, and catching her in his arms, kissed her passionately, as he swung her lightly to the ground. But she did not heed him ; did not speak to him ; as they drew her away from the risk of the falling stones, her eyes turned once more to the window, where Edmund still stood waiting.

She thought she saw him clasp his hands, in earnest brief

thanksgiving; and then the rope fell at her feet. It was of no use now; it had done its work. He could not even use it for himself; for its end was fastened too securely round her waist, to be unloosed in time to aid him. And if the ladder were to break or fall?—She shuddered at the thought.

The same fear was in Reginald's mind; and he looked up anxiously; his tones quick, eager, impatient. "Now, Charlton."

The walls were already tottering on their base, as Edmund laid his hand upon the ladder. The upper part of it was charred already; the stone lintel against which it leaned, was beginning to give way; the flames surged up against it through the windows beneath.

Warning voices called to him to hasten. He was already badly burnt, and suffering terribly; and the brave arm which had done so much for others, was nearly if not entirely useless; the sense of suffocation against which he had long striven, began at last to master him. Still there was no time to be lost; he knew this as well as those who watched him. The crowd held their breath, as he reached the ladder, and began slowly to descend. Suddenly a cry, almost a shriek, rang startlingly into the night air, as Lilius veiled her face and shrank back, in shuddering fear of what must come—of what *had* come, as the ladder broke, and fell, charred by the fire, which swathed it as it broke forth anew from the lower windows. At the same instant came a noise of falling timbers; a sudden vivid rush of flame; a crash, and then a silence. The west tower had fallen in; a mass of ruin and desolation; and amid the charred beams, and the crumbling stones, and the still burning rafters, what of the brave strong heart and ready arm which had borne the brunt of all so nobly?

For a few moments after the ladder fell, no one either spoke or stirred. A kind of paralyzing horror seemed to have fallen upon them all.

Then Sir Ralph turned hurriedly to his son, and bade him call for further assistance to move the beams and rafters, with which the ground around was strewn. "He may still live," he said, hoarsely, "but there is no time to lose." Henry hastened to meet the men, whom the sudden noise and crash had already summoned to the spot.

In a few minutes they were hard at work; but it was not easy, alas, to proceed swiftly; and every moment was so

precious. Reginald, somewhat stunned at first, recovered himself, when the time for action came; and worked as hard as any of them. Liliás stood white and trembling, hands clasped, lips quivering; she would not go away. The remonstrances of Sir Ralph were unheard or unheeded. So also were the tearful prayers of Sybil, the peremptory commands of Reginald, who in his fear and grief for Edmund, scarcely knew what he was saying; but only sought to screen her from what might be more dreadful still. If they should find him dead—or dying?

But they did not. When the *débris*, the smouldering wood-work, had been with difficulty drawn away, they found him lying at the ladder's foot, white and motionless, but still alive. The village doctor was already on the spot. It was to him that Reginald turned wildly; it was to him that Sir Ralph's anxious question was addressed. And then there was another painful pause, as Dr. Onslow knelt by Edmund's side.

Presently he looked up. His anxious look relaxed a little. "He is much hurt; but I think not fatally."

And then Liliás fainted suddenly away.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

How shall I answer thy request for love?
Look in my face and see.—*E. B. Browning.*

NEARLY ten days had passed since the fire at Cannington. The memory of that night's panic was slowly dying out, only the black, charred ruins of the west tower remained to tell the story of a great risk, of a great devotion.

The guests had long since taken their departure. Only Edmund and his sister still remained there, and Reginald, who had begged to stay beside his friend. Mr. Charlton's injuries had proved severe; the shock (no less perhaps than the actual suffering) had prostrated him completely; and for hours, for days even, anxiety had been great: but bulletins had now ceased to reach the Abbey; and one day Liliás, impatient for news, drove over with Cora.

Sir Ralph and Reginald were out; but Lady Seaham greeted her effusively. "How much we have to tell each other!" she cried, as she embraced her, "it seems a real age since we have met after that dreadful night, and I have wished so much to see you. Take off your hat, and let me look at

you," and as Liliás obeyed, "how pale you are, poor child; and no wonder. I only marvel how you lived through it. But Cora] looks as bright as ever. Dear child, what nerves she has."

Liliás remembered the scene in the dressing-room, and drew her little cousin to her with a fond protecting clasp; and then Adelaide's voice was heard outside and she shrank instinctively from the merry, kind-hearted, but shallow-natured woman whom at other times she liked so well.

Lady Seaham understood the little start which Liliás gave, the appealing look in the dark eyes, and she felt that her guest was not in tune for jests and merriment; that she was nervous, if not unhappy, too agitated even to venture upon the question which she had nevertheless come there to ask.

And so she sent Cora away to look for the younger members of the family, Adelaide and Mrs. Cameron; and turned to Liliás with a smile. "Cora will be happier with my step-daughters, and you, dear, alone with me. They are all too young and giddy not to consort best together. The house is quiet again at length. Our last guest left a week since—Mr. Manley."

"I am glad he is not here," said Liliás, and her colour rose. "I think you guessed why he rode over to the Abbey, the very day after the fire? and we so miserably anxious. I shall never forget it."

"Well, it was certainly inconsiderate; I guessed it, I confess, dear, but not till he returned. You have been rather hardly treated, my poor Lily, and look as white and fragile as your own name-flower. But I feared, dear, that you were not indifferent to him, and am glad that it has ended this way."

"He said I had encouraged him. I am afraid I did; and yet I did not mean to do so. I was harassed, unhappy, and I would not seem so. And he was clever and agreeable and amused me; and ——" She flushed and stopped, and Lady Seaham answered kindly: "I think he quite deserved his fate, my dear. Yes, you were wrong; but still you need not pity him. I understand it all too well; but he is one who 'loves and rides away,' as the poet tells us, and will not break his heart for love or lady," she added, in a lighter tone. "Now tell me something of yourself—your mother?"

"My mother is much the same as usual, thank you; a little agitated still, at times, and will not hear a word about the fire. But, Lady Seaham, how is he now—Mr. Charlton?"

Her lips quivered as she pronounced his name: the tears sprang into her eyes.

"He is really wonderfully better. He came down yesterday, for a short time only, and Catherine tells me he is none the worse for it. She makes a better nurse than I expected; and Reginald, poor fellow, was devoted. He took the gloomiest views at first, you know—was positively in despair."

"I do not wonder," answered Liliás, softly, "and when he thinks how it all happened. . . . Oh, I cannot speak of it," she said, suddenly, with a paling cheek, and she veiled her face with her hands, as though shutting out the awful scene that rose again vividly before her.

"Dearest Liliás, it was very dreadful, very terrible, but it is over now, and he really is recovering," as the girl's eyes, still dim with tears, were turned again towards her. "He is looking very ill of course; but that one must expect. You know his arm was shockingly burned; he has it in a sling; and then besides, the shock, the fall. Indeed, my dear, we must be thankful that he is so well."

"Does he speak at all about the fire?" said Liliás, presently, in a low faltering tone.

"He raved of it incessantly at one time, just at first, imagining that it was too late to save you, that you would not go with him. Now he remembers all distinctly, though he does not often care to speak of it. He told me, however, of your courage, Liliás; and that your self-control and coolness were the greatest help to him."

"I only did what I was told," said Liliás. "You must not praise me. It was he—he only."

Lady Seaham bent tenderly towards her. "Lily, dear child, I have known you so long, I can ask you even this: has anything ever passed—between you and—Mr. Charlton?"

Liliás burst into tears.

These tears told Lady Seaham all, at least she thought so, that Edmund, true and noble as he was, had loved and had been scorned, that Liliás was less perfect than she had deemed her. And yet, thinking of the home that had been hers, of the training that she had received, she forgave readily the girl's worldliness, and longed to make her happy if she could. There was a little silence; then she laid her hand softly in that of Liliás, and looked lovingly in the downcast face. "Liliás, dear child," she said, gently, "could you not have loved him?"

Lilias did not answer. Her slender frame was shaking with the sobs that became only the more violent from her efforts to restrain them.

Had Lady Seaham been a second time mistaken? She thought not, but she tried again. "I have been wrong in asking him to meet you, it has been needless pain to both, but then you see I did not know."

But Lilias answered eagerly: "No, Lady Seaham, it was better so. We had met often; had to meet again. I have been very weak and very foolish. Please forgive me."

"Dear child, 'tis not of *me* that you should ask it," said Lady Seaham, as she kissed her tenderly. "Be frank with me, and tell me all. These tears, are they for *him*, or for yourself? If for *yourself*, why so?"

"I do not know," said Lilias, softly; but the tones were choked, and the small hands clasped tightly. "I did not realize that he could love me, I held him only as a friend. And when he spoke at last, I was not ready. I could not gauge the gift he offered me, because my own heart was so weak and shallow. I listened to my pride, my love of power; but when he had gone from me, I knew all, too late."

The words fell very calmly, almost inaudibly, but when they ceased a sudden colour flushed her cheek, and she turned her eyes, as though half-frightened, upon Lady Seaham. "O Lady Seaham, I should not have said this to you, although you have been almost more than friend to me."

"I love you as a daughter, Lilias," said Lady Seaham. "Why should you fear to speak the truth to me, to own your love for one who has first loved you so well—has almost given his life to prove it? My Lily, you must not grieve so bitterly, it will, it must, come right at last."

But Lilias did not answer, deep in her inmost heart she hoped it would; but doubts and fears, or a newly-born humility, forbade her now to linger on the thought, or leastways to take comfort in it. Her pride, her coldness, had *so* deeply disappointed him. She had read *that*, as she had seen his pain, in the low tones of his voice, his half-reproachful gaze, as he turned away from her, and since then he had said no word.

No word — unless — unless that breathless prayer, that passionate cry (which since, in dreams, she had so often heard), had been indeed no wild imagining of a brain distraught almost with terror and suspense. And *if* those words had really passed

his lips, wrung from him by the moment's agony, would he not now, the danger past, forget them; nay, even blame the loss of self-control which could alone have given them utterance.

She could not say this to Lady Seaham, even while finding comfort in her sympathy. She had been so miserable these last lonely days, alone with her anxiety, her self-reproach, and pain. She was proud, and very silent, and seldom told her griefs to any one; but her present companion was intensely sympathetic, and cared for her as her own mother should have done.

Lady Seaham had herself loved, and loved happily; and her step-daughters had made her their *confidante* in this respect, if in other ways they had gone on their path without her; and now, with a tenderness which was almost motherly, she soothed and comforted the girl beside her, until the tears had ceased to flow, and the sweet face began to brighten like a flower unfolding to the sun.

At last she rose. "Lilias, dear child, the girls are coming in, and I must write some letters for Sir Ralph. You will excuse me, wont you, for a little while, and rest and read a little by yourself? Cora shall summon you in time for tea. You do not mind me leaving you?"

"No. I am going to be good now," said Lilias, with a tender little smile, as she took Lady Seaham's hand in both her own. "You must not give me all your afternoon: you have already given me so much." And then, when Lady Seaham had left her, she leaned back listlessly in her arm-chair, thinking out her own thoughts, some sad and some perplexing—only thankful for the moment to be alone.

It was a pleasant apartment, small when compared with the usual reception-rooms, but eminently cosy. It was very quiet at present: the venetian blinds drawn down, and the windows partly open, excluded the sun, but let in a pleasant fragrance from the flowers outside: sounds of voices came in also, now and then, and the songs of birds low and tranquil.

The minutes fled apace, as minutes do when we are thinking, and the time had seemed but brief to Lilias, when presently the door opened, and a step warned her that she was not alone. She raised her eyes and a little cry escaped her, as she rose hastily from her seat to greet—Mr. Charlton.

How changed he seemed—much more than she had looked for: his face so drawn and pale, his bandaged arm, his feeble

step; surely he must have suffered terribly? and all for her. The thought made Liliás silent for the moment, though words of gratitude were rushing to her lips and speaking in her lifted eyes. He read the gratitude; he understood the silence. His own heart was so full of mingled feelings, meeting her thus, face to face, for the first time since that awful parting, which might so well have been their last.

The silence, however, was but momentary; then Liliás spoke, in broken, unconnected, faltering words: "O Mr. Charlton, you have given me life—and I have hardly words in which to thank you."

"You must not thank me, Lady Liliás," he said, gently. "God knows I have reward sufficient in seeing you *safe*," and his voice shook with suppressed emotion, with the memory of that ghastly time and the great thankfulness that filled his heart.

But Liliás hurried on unheeding. "You would not have me be ungrateful?" half-reproachfully; "or do you think I did not know the risk? the awful risk—not once alone, but *twice*."

Twice? Would a hundred times have been too much?—for her, so young, so fair, so passing dear to him? But he did not say so; somehow, in spite of Liliás's emotion, of his own tumultuous gladness in her safety, their meeting was a strangely quiet one; and receiving no answer to her eager words, Liliás released her hand and stood embarrassed; not daring now to raise her eyes to his. A shadow from the past had risen between them, parting them against their will; because he was too generous and she too maidenly to will it otherwise, because they could not meet and speak as others would, remembering what had gone before. Yet surely anything was better than this terrible stiffness; the swift release of hands—which should have lingered in each other's clasp, after all that had been dared and suffered on either side, the studiously averted eyes—that the brimming tears, the chivalrous devotion might be alike concealed. Oh! if he would at least sit down instead of standing, proud and ceremonious, and he so pale, so worn, so little fit to stand, even while those few words passed. And thinking this, she resumed her seat; and as though obeying that thought of hers, or waking to the sense that they were needlessly constrained, he presently moved forward a chair and sank into it so wearily that her great grey eyes turned pitifully upon him.

He asked after her mother then, and as she watched him, she replied: "My mother did not come with me. She is still

nervous and upset, and, as you know, is never very strong. I have brought my cousin Cora with me. O Mr. Charlton, she has so much to say to you."

"She owes as much to *you*, Lady Liliás," he said, gravely; then, as she looked up surprised, he added: "It was a terrible moment; but had you been less unselfish, one life, at least, must have been sacrificed. That child would not have lived till I returned."

Liliás shuddered, and the tears rose to her eyes. She felt that he was telling her the truth; and yet though praise from him was sweet to her, she felt how slight a thing was her impulsive generosity, compared with the steady, calm contempt of danger which he had shown throughout. "She was my cousin. I loved her. I could not leave her thus: but you, *you* had all the risk twice over. I had only to wait."

"That waiting might have meant an awful death; and you so young"—and his tone of suppressed emotion said more than the few words—"so young—a long and brilliant life before you, yet you gave it without flinching."

"And you—are you not young also?"

The words sprang involuntarily to her lips; but he gave no answer.

"Mr. Charlton!" Liliás bent suddenly towards him. "Mr. Charlton! do you mean you did not *care*?"

He hesitated before he spoke; but when he did speak, it was very calmly: "Not so, Lady Liliás: but *I* had less to live for."

She understood more fully and more truly than he had intended her to do. Life had been sad to him, as it had been bright to her; and she, she told herself, had helped to make it so—winning to her his love, his fealty, only it seemed to cast it from her. How little he knew or guessed the long repentance, the keen regrets. How little he knew or thought that the gift he had once hoped for was ready for him—would he stoop to take it! It was pity, less for him than for herself, that swayed her, as, turning from him, she bowed her head: the quick sobs, the falling tears, her sole reply.

There was a brief pause. Then he rose and stood beside her: his voice husky, his words broken, his heart throbbing with mingled hope and fear. "Lady Liliás," he faltered, "are these tears for me? May I dare take hope,—take happiness,—from their meaning? or am I again, as I was once—mistaken?"

She did not answer; but her eyes were raised to his: brimming and wistful, pleading for forgiveness. The language in them could not be mistaken, and Edmund knew that his heart's prayer was heard.

"My love! my love! Can this indeed be true? Can you say 'yes' at last?"

"Will you have me with all my pride and wilfulness?" she murmured.

And thus all was made right between them.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Thus reign the world's great bridals chaste and calm.—*Tennyson.*

PROBABLY after Edmund and Liliás, the person most gratified at their engagement was Lord Gletherton. His boyishly joyful congratulations made Liliás smile, though the smile was contradicted by the tears which would rush into her eyes at every thought of her new happiness. Undeserved happiness it was she told herself, and yet so calm, so sweet, so tranquil. How empty her past life seemed; how full of hope and promise the life now opened out before her.

Edmund soon left Cannington and spent a few days at the Abbey, where Mrs. Fitzgerald welcomed him with real delight; expatiating languidly upon his heroism, and telling him, with half-shut eyes, that the very thought of it had made her ill for days. She fussed about him more than usual too, was "miserable" about his looks, and told her son that Edmund *was* so delicate, and she had always said so from the first. But the very fact of her thus fretting over him proved only how sincerely pleased she was, and how thoroughly and gladly she had accepted him as a son. She saw that Reginald was pleased; his one wish satisfied, as he himself told her, when Lily's shy confession had been made, and Mrs. Fitzgerald, startled but well content, had become confidential on the subject with her son. Liliás's bright looks, and Edmund's chivalrous devotion, surprised and pleased her, as she lay upon the sofa watching them, as amused and interested in each passing phase, as she was usually in the *denouement* of a novel. "In fact it hardly looks like modern prosaic life," she wrote to Lady Julia; "nothing wanting in the whole *mise-en-scène*; a boy-and-girl attachment to begin with, a tragedy, and now a wedding.

And Edmund, really like a knight of olden time, though Liliás is no longer *La belle dame sans merci*."

And Lady Julia smiled a little as she read, but thanked God in her heart that her prayer had been granted; that Edmund's long waiting had at length won its reward. And then one afternoon Edmund and Liliás rode over to see her; Edmund unusually bright and cheerful, and making little of his accident; and Liliás so gentle and subdued that the kind old lady took alarm. "Dear child," she said, "are you really happy?" but the warm kiss and the radiant smile were proof sufficient.

"Dear Liliás," said Eveleen, afterwards, "I think that she has at last found happiness; that restless, anxious heart of hers, its staff and stay. I knew at once that all was well, when she came in looking so sweet and shy."

"Yes, happiness has made her quiet and calm, as it would have made a different nature bright and joyous. And Edmund, too, so peaceful in his thankfulness. Well, child, my last wish has been granted to me. I can e'en go to my grave in peace."

But Eveleen bent her head lower over the frail white hand she held, and prayed her for her sake to live a little longer yet.

Edmund was soon called away on business, and Liliás went to London with her mother for her *trousseau*. Here they met Mr. Oldcastle who, as an old friend of the Fitzgeralds, had been chosen to act in concert with Mr. Bertram in drawing up the marriage settlements. The old lawyer had been pleased and proud, that his favourite Lady Liliás had been won by one so worthy, and could not say enough in Edmund's praise—"a marriage made in Heaven," he said, emphatically, "and taking it all round, so nearly perfect that if the office were not already disposed of, he would have no very strong objection to giving her away himself." Liliás took the jest as it was meant, declared that nothing could give her greater pleasure, and forbore even to mention the prior claims of Reginald. Meanwhile our heroine had her hands full, and had little time to reflect or ponder on her new happiness. Mrs. Fitzgerald, guided in most instances by others, was resolute, even obstinate, upon one point, and one only. The wedding must be on the very grandest scale. The marriage of her only daughter was of course a great event to her. There could be but one greater—the marriage of her only son. It was a legitimate excuse for splendour; such as she might never have again. She would not be defrauded of it. Her own fortune had been but slender, her

husband's family objecting to the marriage, her own able to do little more than wish her well ; and she had been married very quietly with few wedding guests, and but a single bridesmaid in attendance. This past humiliation should be well atoned for now.

She seemed quite young again, amid the pleasant excitement of the *trousseau*. She revelled in silks and satins, as Liliás revelled in flowers and sunshine, and Reginald in open air and exercise. She was in her element in the midst of finery and fashion, and thoroughly enjoyed it, though complaining between whiles of being tired to death, and seeking sympathy from Eveleen or Reginald. From the latter she received but slender sympathy. He was at the summit of his wishes, the hopes of years on the point of being fulfilled. He could not contain his delight, and his brightness was quite infectious. Nothing that he could do would be wanting to do honour to his friend or please his sister. It was as if he had only just discovered how much he loved them both. The Abbey, always hospitable, would be absolutely thronged with guests. The neighbours had all been bidden to the wedding, and all had heartily responded. The marriage of their queen was no ordinary event, and never were faithful lieges more jubilantly loyal. Edmund had indeed won their hearts some time since, and surely his late gallant conduct had well merited so fair a prize. It was a pity, some said, he had so few relatives on his side, when Reginald and Liliás had so many, but Catherine was of course with him, though she had not wished to be a bridesmaid.

"We will leave that to the younger folk," she had said, half in jest half in earnest, and then when Liliás had pressed the point : "My wishes for your happiness will be no less fervent whether I look after Aunt Julia or stand before the altar-rails with you."

And Liliás, pressing no further, chose a galaxy of younger bridesmaids, whose fresh and youthful beauty seemed to enhance and complete her own.

Aunt Julia was also pleased with the arrangement. She was not very fond of Catherine, but she understood her better than most people, and felt less chilled by her coldness perhaps because she had known her otherwise. And then, too, dear Aunt Julia with her honest, loving nature had the knack of drawing out what was best in other natures, and winning the confidence which to others would be denied. And during the

few days before the wedding, when Eveleen was at the Abbey helping Liliás, Catherine spent many an hour with their aged relative talking about Edmund, questioning about Liliás, and showing underneath all the coldness and reserve, a true, warm interest in their happiness, a growing appreciation and love for each. She learnt also, as many did, to judge less hastily, more kindly it would often be, what she did not comprehend in characters so different from her own.

But bright and happy as a bridal is, or should be, there is with most a little sadness also; a loosening of older ties, a breaking up of the "old home," a new life built upon the ashes of the old—it may be distance between relatives and friends, whose lives have flowed side by side until then. And Liliás, though her home had not been always happy, though the new life seemed to her fuller and more blest, felt this as the eventful day drew near, and clung more closely than she had ever done before to the mother whom she was now about to leave. Her home, too, her dear old home, with its memories that were still so much to her, the thought made her a little sorrowful, and she did not put the feeling from her. The day before the wedding she went round the house, and looked up at the old family pictures, taking leave of them as of friends; for was she not going from among them, and had they not watched over her from her childhood? And when Edmund returned, he found her there; and smiled at her wayward fancy, and rejoiced that she was his at last.

Later in the evening, after a long talk with Reginald, they again found themselves alone together; she sitting in a low easy chair, her delicate hands clasped upon her knee, her eyes cast down, her brows thoughtfully compressed.

Of what, then, were her thoughts—her dreams? He did not know; but he stood by the fire a moment, watching her, a quiet smile upon his face, a great love in his eyes. Probably they were both thinking on the same subject; those different natures working out the same problem, to arrive at the same conclusion. At last Liliás rose, her cheek flushed, her graceful form relaxed from its stateliness, a new softness in her expressive face, as she came towards him, her brow uplifted, her eyes seeking his. "Edmund," she said, gently, "I have treated you badly hitherto, but I will make you a good wife."

He clasped her to his breast, his answer would be deeds, not words; a future year would give reality to the vow that rose

voiceless in his heart, and that happy year was on the eve of its commencement, for the morrow was his wedding-day.

The great day dawned at last, a glorious autumn morning, bright and frosty, the branches of the trees glittering with rime : all breathing hope and peace and happiness. So the guests said ; so Liliás believed also. The chapel which joined the Abbey was a perfect specimen of decorated Gothic architecture, later than the main building, having been added after the older church had been accidentally burnt down. The white carved altar was decked with lights and flowers, the slender pillars almost hidden with glistening ivy-leaves and holly, jewelled with the red berries of the guelder-rose, with hips and haws, and autumn leaves and flowers ; and then, as the bridal procession swept slowly up the aisle, the sun shone out in all its splendour, bathing them in its radiance, and dyeing the white robes of the bride and bridesmaids with gold and red and purple, as it streamed down through the stained east window.

The Bishop of the diocese officiated ; assisted by the chaplain, and by Mr. Lawrence from the Grange ; and the few brief words addressed to bride and bridegroom were tender and well chosen. The guests who thronged the chapel to overflowing, were moved no less than pleased, and those, the greater part, who were not Catholics, were impressed, as were the others, by the peace and calm and devotion of the service, which they saw for the first time as a sacrament, and not as a mere ceremony.

Liliás looked lovely, and on her sweet, fair face there was an expression of perfect trust and happiness, as she glanced up at her husband, as he led her from the rails. It was evident that he at least had nothing left to wish for.

The guests and relatives were pleased and satisfied, and jubilant in their congratulations, not to the bride alone, but to Reginald and his mother. They had never seen a prettier wedding ; never hoped to see a happier bride ; nor were the eight young bride-maidens unnoticed or forgotten. Cora looked exquisitely pretty in her white robes, and Eveleen's dreamy eyes rested upon her as often as upon the bride. It may be that Reginald gazed also.

At last the wedding service was concluded, and the wedding-party left the chapel through corridors richly carpeted with flowers ; long lines of welcoming faces on either side.

The breakfast passed off half-gaily and half-gravely, as is the

wont of wedding-breakfasts generally. But few speeches were made, and those short and to the point. The Earl proposed the bride and bridegroom with a hearty warmth and pleasure, which was most grateful to them both ; while Edmund's speech was touching in its earnestness—in the happiness which breathed through every word.

The hour of parting came at last—too quickly, and Liliás, with eyes soft and misty, and cheek a little paler than of wont, went upstairs to seek her mother, who, tired to death as she told Reginald, had retired before breakfast was half over. A new tenderness was in the girl's heart, a little faltering in her voice, as putting her arms round her mother's neck, she asked lovingly her pardon for the past, her blessing for the future. And Mrs. Fitzgerald, touched a little, despite her selfishness, responded for once lovingly and warmly, as she blessed and kissed her, and commended her with tears to her husband's love and care.

Then the last moment came, and amid tears and smiles, and the good wishes of many friends, and showers of rice, and flowers and satin slippers, sunshine overhead and sunshine also in her heart, Liliás was led by her brother to the carriage, and soon she and her husband were driving rapidly to the station. They were to reach Folkestone that night, and cross the following morning to Boulogne.

Reviews.

I.—THE END OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY.¹

IT is nearly a century since Milner's *End of Controversy* was first published, and it made quite a sensation at the time. It has been said that up to a certain date it had effected more conversions than all other books put together. Nor has its attractiveness and utility ceased even now when so many other books of a kindred sort are in the field. Partly through the device of an interchange of letters between the author and an imaginary group of persons, but much more through the ease of its style and the clearness of its reasonings, it presents itself as a book which it is really interesting as well as instructive and convincing to read. Hence even Dr. Salmon has said of it: "I do not think their case can be stated in a more taking way." There is also this special utility for the present day in the *End of Controversy*. We sometimes hear the complaint made that our modern controversial books (we are obliged to use this term until some one can supply us with another expressing the same innocent conception without the set-off of an unpleasant, though undeserved, implication) are so constructed as to deal only with the High Anglican position and leave out of account the numbers who still stand on a downright Protestant platform. The *End of Controversy* at all events is not open to this reproach. In the days when it was written the Tractarian Movement was in the womb of the future. Dr. Milner betrays no consciousness of the existence of any in the Established Church who had approached so far towards his own creed as to believe in a visible Church endowed with authority, and in Tradition as well as Holy Scripture as a constituted channel for the transmission of revealed truth. His argument is addressed

¹ *The End of Religious Controversy*. By Bishop Milner. A new edition by the Rev. Luke Rivington, M.A. London: Catholic Truth Society, 21, Westminster Bridge Road.

to those who like to be called Evangelicals, the class represented by such leaders as Bishop Ryle.

Just to sketch his argument we may say that he commences by examining two Fallacious Rules of Faith—the Rule of those who appeal to an inner and personal witness of the Spirit, and the Rule of the Bible and the Bible only, interpreted by the private judgment of the individual. Then follows a statement and proof of the true Rule—the Whole Word of God, both Written and Unwritten, propounded and explained by the Catholic Church. In the next place he proceeds to determine where the Catholic Church is to be found, and for this purpose the Four Notes of Unity, Sanctity, Catholicity, and Apostolicity, are examined, and identified in the only Church which receives the name of Catholic from her opponents as well as her friends. The latter part of the book is taken up with the exposition and defence of those particular Catholic doctrines which seem most objectionable to Protestants of the class the writer has in view.

These few words on the nature of Milner's truly classical work have been said by way of introduction to a new edition which the Catholic Truth Society has just brought out. Two difficulties stood in the way of the older editions—one, that the book was not brought up to date; the other, that the references required revising. This task has been accomplished by Father Rivington, who must have devoted a vast amount of patient labour to its fulfilment. He tells us in the Preface that, although he has been careful to retain the author's text, he has permitted himself a "few slight differences," which are the result of a collation of the first and fifth editions, and of compliance with the modern method of breaking up sentences. He has also added a few notes of his own in square brackets, where they seemed necessary either to correct some occasional error of detail into which the author had fallen, or else to explain the harmony between some few of his statements and subsequent judgments of the Church. The revision of the references has been most carefully done. Milner seems to have been very accurate on the whole in his quotations, but his references were by no means accurate—a fact not wonderful to any one who can realize the difficulty of verifying references in days when there was so much less facility of communication and access to public libraries. All this Father Rivington has now set right. He has also in his Preface enriched the volume by an examination into Dr.

Salmon's somewhat superficial criticisms on Milner, in his *Infallibility of the Church*.

We are accustomed to expect from the Catholic Truth Society marvels of cheapness, and the present publication yields to none of its predecessors in this respect. A bound volume of 484 pages for eighteen pence, and all beautifully printed on good thick paper, may well set us thinking on what commercial principles it can be done. But zeal for souls can sometimes find other means to rely upon besides those of a commercial balance between outlay and return, when it is question of providing a book calculated to be in the future as in the past so valuable an instrument for good.

It would be superfluous to recommend those engaged in instructing converts to provide themselves with a copy of the *End of Controversy*, but it may not be superfluous to remind a larger class of the good they may do by having such a book by them, which they can lend whenever opportunity offers to Protestant friends who may desire to know what we have to say for ourselves.

2.—CHRIST IN TYPE AND PROPHECY.¹

If we are somewhat late in calling attention to the second and concluding volume of Father Maas's *Christ in Type and Prophecy*, it is not through any failure to appreciate his work. Books like this have of late years issued not unfrequently from the Protestant press, and several of considerable excellence have been written by German Catholic writers. But, so far as we are aware, no Catholic writer has previously used the English language for the purpose. And yet it is a kind of work both useful and interesting, for the idea is to examine separately and then collect together into one whole the prophetic foreshadowings of our Lord's Person, Office, and Life, which are given us in the Old Testament. In this way the argument from prophecy acquires a very impressive force. It is no longer a question of establishing the precise date and authorship of passages traditionally claimed as prophetic, or of determining whether the prophetic interpretation is the only sense which the words bear. Certain broad results as to the dates of composition are

¹ *Christ in Type and Prophecy*. By the Rev. A. J. Maas, S.J. Vol. ii. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1896.

fixed beyond doubt, and they suffice for a foundation to the argument. For what we find is a picture first sketched in outline, and then gradually filled in with details, one detail added on one occasion and another on another, the circumstances of the writer's time on each occasion rendering the mention of the particular feature natural and appropriate, and yet the outcome of the whole evincing so striking a correspondence with the alleged fulfilment, that it is unreasonable to refer it all to chance, or to a cause less than Divine prevision and pre-arrangement. Nor is it only with a view to the argument from prophecy that such a treatment of the Old Testament is valuable. The Old Testament was given to us not merely to establish our faith by furnishing proofs of the Divinity of the New, but also to nourish our faith by furnishing materials for a study of God's historical dealings with man, nor is any branch of this study more interesting and consoling than the study of the mode in which the children of the older dispensation were encouraged by the great hope of a Deliverer to come.

Father Maas in the present volume deals with the prophecies concerning the Messiah as King, Priest, Prophet, and Mediator; with His Public Life, His Work, Sufferings, and His Glory. In each case, pursuing his previous plan, he gives first an introductory section on the authorship, age, context, and scope of the prophecy, then an exposition of the text, and lastly, a corollary in which the results obtained are summed up. He shows himself throughout well acquainted with the various theories of interpretation which have been propounded by ancients and moderns, by Catholics and rationalists; and he has a felicitous gift of stating with clearness and conciseness the different arguments and the reasons in their favour or against them. He also exercises a solid judgment in his choice of expositions. Theologians, and preachers, will, we are sure, feel specially indebted to him for the aid he has given them, and even those who may not share all his views, will at least be grateful to him for placing within their reach, within so small a compass, so full a collection of the materials on which their decisions must turn.

3.—THE GREAT COMMENTARY.¹

The translation of the Commentary of Cornelius à Lapide—not without reason called by the Editor his Great Commentary—with this instalment passes on from the Gospels to the Epistles. Dr. Mossman, who projected the work and translated the Gospel of St. Matthew, has now been many years dead, but Dr. Cobb has carried on his design, and is now the translator of the Epistle to the Corinthians. In a short Preface, he states the principles on which he has gone. He “has endeavoured, next to accuracy, to secure a reproduction of the spirit of the commentator,” “believing that most readers would prefer to see for themselves what Cornelius à Lapide believed to be the plain meaning of Scripture, and to appreciate the piety which he brought to its elucidation.” The only liberties the translator has allowed himself “consist in an attempt to shorten a little its terrible prolixity; and in the correction of a few obvious mistakes in matters of fact.” These are sound principles, and, so far as we have been able to ascertain from a cursory inspection, they have been consistently followed. Indeed, it is not at first apparent where the omissions have occurred, although it is apparent that the unquestionably “terrible prolixity”—for modern readers at least—of the original has been reduced to reasonable limits. A Catholic reader will naturally be suspicious of the rendering of passages in which his peculiar doctrines or practices are handled, but he need feel no anxiety. The translator belongs, if we mistake not, to the High Church school, so that passages in regard to which he would feel himself out of sympathy with à Lapide hardly occur in this Epistle; but even where they do occur, as, for instance, in chapter xi, where the doctrine of Transubstantiation is deduced from the Words of Institution, the translator has rigidly adhered to his determination.

Catholics, therefore, who have not access to the original, or else have not the patience to deal with its ponderous tomes, may safely avail themselves of the volume now before us, which they will find very helpful for devout reading, as well as for the understanding of the Sacred Text. The translation itself is scholarly, and succeeds well in bringing out the clearness, simplicity, and quiet fervour, which are the characteristics of the commentator's style.

¹ Catholic Standard Library. *The Great Commentary of Cornelius à Lapide, 1 Corinthians*. Translated and Edited by W. F. Cobb, D.D. London: John Hodges.

Literary Record.

I.—BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

THE *Historical Series* of Catholic Truth Society publications keep well up to date, and afford the means to those who choose to use them, of checking for themselves the astounding assertions with which, in the name of Church history, the world is being flooded. In *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*,¹ Mgr. Croke Robinson examines the story of the great mediæval prelate, whom, with an audacity which has in it something of the sublime, the champions of Anglican continuity, with the Bishop of Peterborough at their head, venture to bring forward as an opponent of Papal claims. That Grosseteste did not hesitate to speak his mind freely and bluntly when he disapproved of measures of administration undertaken by the Pope or his representatives, is as certain as that in a similar case St. Paul withstood St. Peter to his face. That such opposition betokened any doubt or question as to the supreme prerogatives of the Apostolic See, will be imagined by no unprejudiced reader of the acts and words of one who amongst the loyal sons of Christ's Vicar was conspicuous for his devoted loyalty. Unfortunately there are few who have the opportunity of studying in full his life and character, but the little book before us should at least prevent the distorted versions of which we have spoken from working the mischief which they are meant to produce.

For the moment, a still wider circulation must be wished for the *Catholic Education Leaflets*,² wherein the demand for "equal maintenance" in regard of our schools, is clearly and tersely enforced. Five of them are before us, written not only with much force, but, which is all-important, with a grasp of the subject and knowledge of its details which cannot be questioned.

¹ Price twopence.

² *Catholic Education Leaflets*. London: Catholic Truth Society. Sixpence per 100.

It is greatly to be desired that the additional time afforded by the postponement of the Education Bill, however disappointing it may be, should be utilized to the full by Catholics in impressing on the minds of their fellow-countrymen the true nature of our just demands. For this purpose nothing can be better than these admirable publications. If we may venture on a criticism, we would suggest that there seems to be a tendency as the work goes on to over-do the use of typographical devices for the purpose of emphasis. When multiplied beyond a certain point heavy type becomes confusing rather than impressive, and in several instances it is by no means easy to understand upon what principle it is employed.

In *The Catholic Sick-Room*,¹ are furnished clear and definite instructions for those to whom the duty falls of providing for the spiritual wants of those in danger of death—when and how to summon the priest—what preparations to make for the administration of the last sacraments—how to assist in their administration, and the like. It is a familiar experience what faults of omission in all these respects are constantly committed, not from want of good-will, but from want of knowledge, and how much injury is unwittingly done to those unable to help themselves, by those most anxious to help them if only they knew how. It is to be hoped that this practical little tract will be widely circulated.

In *The Religious Rights of the Catholic Poor*,² Mr. W. C. Maude has provided an excellent and most practical little manual for the use of those Catholics upon whom devolves the duty of protecting the most helpless class of their co-religionists. In four chapters he deals successively with "The Creed Register," "The Religious Rights of Adults," "The Religious Rights of Children," and "The Burial of Catholic Paupers." An Appendix furnishes a list of certified schools and institutions for Catholics, and there is moreover a good Index.

The Catholic Truth Society sends us likewise *Scripture Readings*, being the Epistles and Gospels for Sundays and Holidays,³ *Thoughts for the Sick-room*,⁴ and *All Day Long*

¹ *The Catholic Sick-Room*. By Father James Splaine, S.J. London: Catholic Truth Society. Twopence.

² *A Hand-book for Catholic Guardians*. By William C. Maude, of Lincoln's Inn, B.C.L., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. London: Catholic Truth Society. Cloth, Sixpence.

³ Price Threepence.

⁴ One Penny.

(ejaculations and prayers in verse),¹ by Father Matthew Russell, S.J., the accomplished editor of the *Irish Monthly*. We need not say that sound piety is united with sound sense in these graceful verses, as a sample of which may be cited the little prayer to be used as a preparation for study, incorporating a famous and pregnant *dictum* of Sir Isaac Newton :

The world of spirit and the realm of thought
Are with deep marvels and high mysteries fraught.
Man can but pick a pebble from the shore—
Ocean of truth ! I love thee and adore.

II.—MAGAZINES.

The CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA. (May 2, 1896.)

Italian Catholics and the Present Crisis. The Pelasgic Hittites. Mgr. Fallize in Norway. Irreligious Science. Rita, a tale. Reviews. Bibliography. Chronicle.

———(May 16.)

Catholic Rural Funds, a Fragment of History. Irreligious Science and Virgil in the Middle Ages. The present and future of Catholic Action in Italy. Rita, a tale. Reviews. Archæology. Chronicle.

———(June 6.)

The Papal Letter to the Bishops of Hungary. Modern Botany. The Phœnicians at Mycene and Professor Helbig. Catholic Action in Italy present and future. Rita, a tale. Reviews. Bibliography. Chronicle.

———(June 20.)

Slaves of the Code of Honour. Catholic Action in Italy present and future. Augustus Comte and his system. Rita, a tale. Reviews. Natural Science. Chronicle.

STIMMEN AUS MARIA-LAACH. (May 28, 1896.)

Professor Coehn and the new element in Coal. *Father Dressel, S.J.* Penal Justice in the Future. II. *Father Cathrein, S.J.* Pascal's "Thoughts." IV. *Father Kreiten, S.J.* Santa Croce, Florence. II. *Father Meschler, S.J.* Guilds and Professions. II. *Father H. Pesch, S.J.* The *Ave Maris Stella*. *Father Dreves, S.J.* Reviews and Notices of Books. Miscellany.

¹ One Penny.

The ÉTUDES RELIGIEUSES. (May 13, 1896.)

On the proposition, "All graces come through Mary." *Father de la Broise, S.J.* The First Conquest of the Soudan. *Father Prélôt, S.J.* The Baptism of Clovis and the Bishops of Gaul. *Father Chérot, S.J.* Electric Tramways. *Father de Joannis, S.J.* The War between China and Japan. *Father Prampain, S.J.* Mistral (concluded). *Father Cornut, S.J.* A Theological Reply. *Father Frins, S.J.* Chronicle.

—(June 13.)

The Sacramental Form and Anglican Ordinations. *Father Harent, S.J.* French Verse, its Origins and Developments. *Father Delaporte, S.J.* Mahdism in the Soudan. *Father Prélôt, S.J.* Electric Tramways. II. *Father de Joannis, S.J.* A Missioner's Easter Holiday. *Father Burnichon, S.J.* The Crisis in French Protestantism. *Father Portalié, S.J.* St. Ignatius and St. Thomas Aquinas. *Father Brucker, S.J.* The Jesuits in New France. Chronicle.

L'UNIVERSITÉ CATHOLIQUE. (May.)

One of Marie Antoinette's Judges. *H. Beaune.* The Number of the Martyrs. *F. Vernet.* The Younger Generation. *Abbé Delfour.* England the Dowry of Mary. *P. Ragey.* Recent Books on Holy Scripture. *E. Jacquier.* Reviews.

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Six New Sermons of St. Cæsarius of Arles. *Dom G. Morin.* The Benedictine Congregation and the Belgian Exempts. *Dom M. Berlière.* Benedictine News. Obituary and Reviews.

DER KATHOLIK. (May.)

An Archæological Investigation of some Passages in the Canon of the Mass. *A. de Waal.* One Law for Germany. *Dr. L. Bendix.* Protestant Biblical Criticism and the Old Testament. *Dr. Selbst.* The Caricature of Cardinal Manning. *Dr. A. Bellesheim.* Reviews, &c.

